

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXI

JUNE, 1889

No. 6

## THE HISTORIC CAPITAL OF IOWA

"AMERICA ANOTHER NAME FOR OPPORTUNITY"

ONE May morning, fifty years ago, a thin column of smoke rose on a bluff overlooking a picturesque forest of oak and hickory; a banner might have been seen waving in the air, and a fresh-hewn slab bore the inscription:

*Seat of Government, Iowa City, May 4, 1839.*

This was the birth of Iowa city, and all of Iowa then open to settlement was a strip fifty miles wide bordering the Mississippi river. That little strip of territory, which had been a part of Louisiana, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had actually set up housekeeping for itself in the great national family, and needed a governmental home. To establish this, three commissioners, appointed by the first territorial legislature, had pressed beyond the line of the old Black Hawk Purchase to one of nature's fairest scenes and choicest collections of water, stone, and wood, and for the first time the stars and stripes fluttered among the oaks that for generations had guarded the hunting-grounds of the Sacs and Foxes. By fiat of congress, these red-skinned warriors retired to the Indian territory twenty miles to the west, and over the graves of their fathers was reenacted the daily miracle of our century. Never was capital located in a wilder spot. Iowa, "The Beautiful Land," lay in its primeval splendor of forest, stream, and emerald prairie—that land that had reminded the adventurous Frenchman of his own loved champagnes, wanting only the vineyard and the curling smoke of the cottage to deceive his longing heart; that land that had been a football for the sport of kings, tossed from France to Spain, from Spain to France again, and was sold to us at last because Napoleon needed gold; that land where the Indian trail was trodden still, where the trader coursed the rivers with his scanty wares, and the trapper lived in solitude.

Pressing through thickets and tangles of slough-grass, winding over prairies brilliant with rich-hued flowers, fording bridgeless streams, came

the wagon of the emigrant. The news of the founding of the capital spread to the east, and in those days before the California rush Iowa became the westward point of the homeseeker and the fortune hunter. Some came to speculate, others to stay. In that first bright summer, half a century ago, some slept under the trees of the forest with slumbers broken by the wolf's long howl, others dwelt in tents, and as cabins were erected their floors were covered at night with the tired pioneers who sought refuge from the chilling dew. Old "Leanback Hall" was built of logs cut from the city plot, and, tradition says, was furnished with a single bed, large enough to accommodate thirty-six men. Many of the first settlers were from Ohio, and by instinct, as it were, took to the woods, leaving the broad open prairie for later comers.

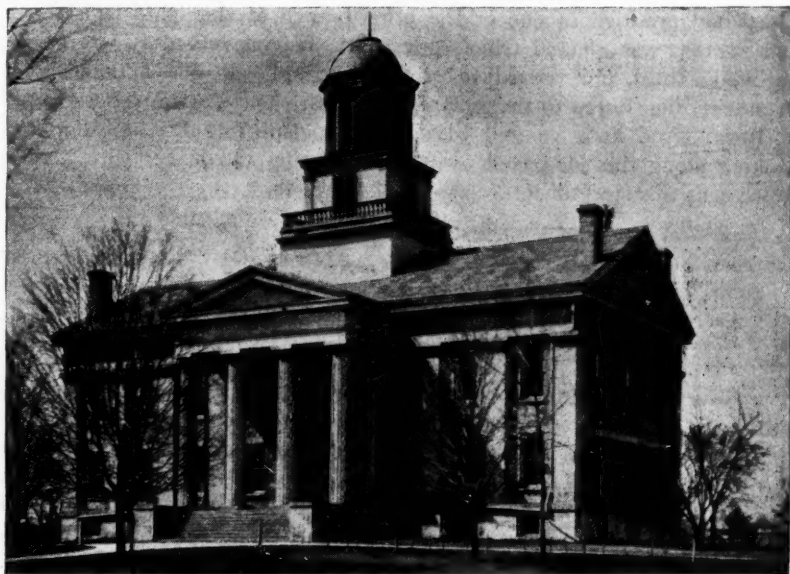
Ten years before Chicago saw her first locomotive, when thousands of acres lay unclaimed in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the sum of \$45,000 was realized in this corner of Iowa through the original sales of lots. With temporary homes and scanty provisions, some apprehension was felt at the approach of the first winter, but the weather was mild, and wood was abundant. As there were no mills nearer than the Mississippi river the people ground their corn by hand, and many a prairie-fowl and noble deer that sped over College hill fell before the hunter's rifle. The wild turkey gobbled in the hazel thicket, quails and chipmunks skurried through the village streets, and along the river the beaver, musk-rat, mink, and otter unwarily walked into the snares of the trapper.

Immigration had heretofore been guided only by old Indian trails or the haphazard ox-wagon track, and in groping its way to Iowa city its wagons were often like ships at sea beating about to find an uncertain harbor. This ended when Iowa's first delegate to congress, driving by slow stages from his corn-field near Burlington to the national capital, secured an appropriation for the opening of a military road from Dubuque to Iowa city, which became the highway of travel to the interior.

The first court was held in the old log hut of a fur trader, and there being no room for the jury they, like the old Saxon Witenagemot, went out into the open air to deliberate, and the sheriff meted out their bounds by nature's barriers of creek and river, including in this august jury-room more than half a section of breezy, billowy prairie, as well as some scores of ill-clad Indians. The petit- and grand-jury rooms were divided by the trail leading up to Wapashasheik's Indian town near by. The grand jurors wanted to go a-fishing, but unfortunately the river was on the petit-jury side. In the saffron files of a Philadelphia paper of half a century ago may be found an account of this court, written by an attorney, in which he

relates that on one evening, after a prisoner's conviction, *the judge played the fiddle and said prisoner danced* for the amusement of the company.

When the new town was scarcely twelve weeks old, there dashed into its midst one day a gay cavalcade, led by the blue-coated figure of His Excellency Governor Robert Lucas, white-haired and stately on his bay pacer, with his daughter and niece and General Fletcher all intent on seeing the seat of government. The logs of rising cabins rested as the work-



THE OLD STONE CAPITOL. IOWA CITY. NOW THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

men came out to pay their homage to the distinguished visitors. The best cabin in the town, the only one with an attic, was placed at their disposal, and that night the governor went to his slumbers by the primitive ladder against a narrow hatchway in the upper floor.

The father of Governor Lucas was a descendant of William Penn, and a captain in the continental army of the revolution; and this son Robert was born in 1781, about the time of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in a low-roofed old homestead on the Potomac about fifty miles from the home of Washington. The year following Washington's death, when Robert was a youth of nineteen, the family removed to the wilds of

Ohio, where he surveyed Scioto county, a town of which still bears his name. He was a captain in 1812, and guided Hull's army through the woods to Detroit. Lucas county, in northern Ohio, was also named in his honor. He served in the Ohio general assembly in its old Chillicothe days, and removed with that body to Columbus in 1816, when the new halls of state were warmed by cozy fires in huge old-fashioned fire-places, with big brass andirons, and when stumps and logs still obstructed the streets of Ohio's capital city. For nineteen successive years Robert Lucas had presided in one or the other branch of the Ohio legislature, and in 1832 was elected Ohio's governor. Having served two terms he declined a third, and retired to private life, and was soon appointed by President Van Buren to the government of the newly organized territory of Iowa. And here we find the old hero inspecting his new domain, walking along the sod-paved avenues, scattering the leaves with a cane which tells this story of its own:

*Presented by Judge Overton, of Tennessee, to Governor Lucas, of Ohio, for presiding over the First Democratic National Convention, nominating Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, Baltimore, Maryland, 1832.*

"Somewhat back from the village street,  
Stands the old-fashioned country-seat"

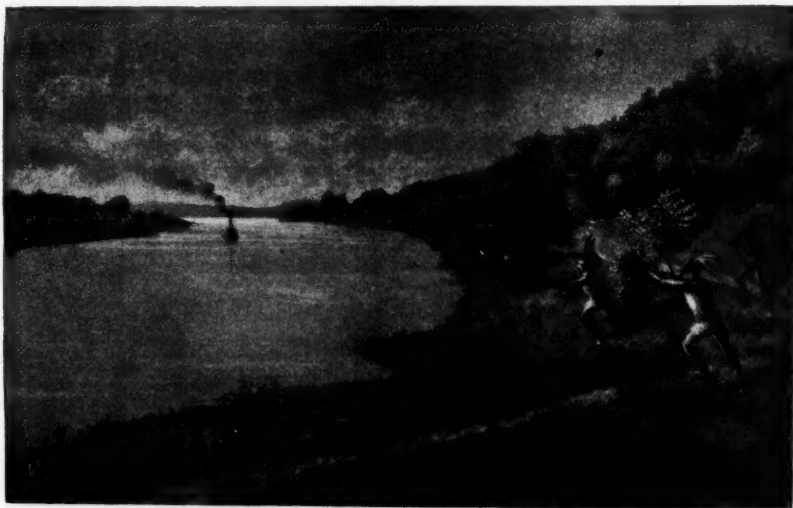
that Governor Lucas erected in that early time, and children and grandchildren perpetuate the name of the first territorial governor of Iowa.

A contract having been made with the firm that built the capitol of Illinois at Springfield, to construct a similar structure at Iowa city, a large force had accomplished by July 4, 1840, ten thousand dollars' worth of work on the foundation, therefore the corner-stone of the edifice illustrated was laid amid the booming of guns and the waving of pioneer hats. Governor Lucas addressed the assemblage. The celebration of the day closed with a barbecue under the forest trees, in what is now the city park.

From the "Old Capitol Quarry," till then untouched, save in the crude age of Indian art, stone was cut and hauled to the top of Capitol square, where busy workmen piqued the curiosity of the squirrel above and the lurking red man below, with the steady click of hammer and chisel. Slightly varying from the original plan by Father Mazzuchelli, the blocks of gray limestone shaped themselves in Doric symmetry, aspiring columns rose on the porticos, and the dome curved its fair calyx above the oaks of ages. No costly wood carving or pillars of marble graced the primitive capitol. The great Wisconsin pineries were not yet opened—the interior was finished with Alleghany pine, the floors were of

native oak, and the shingles were bought in Cincinnati. All this, however, was not done in a day, nor in a year. The stress of poverty that hampers all new states was heavily felt in Iowa; droughts and floods, financial crises, and cholera kept the exchequer low. Delay followed delay, so that the rear portico stands unfinished to this day.

In cold wind and icy sleet the first legislature assembled in Iowa city, just thirty months after it was founded, and met a cordial welcome in the busy little town of seven hundred people. No railroad brought them to the seat of government but the tedious lumbering coach, or the solitary



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT APPROACHING IOWA CITY.

horseman threaded his lonely way in the face of a fierce December storm. As the capitol was yet unfinished the first legislators occupied a temporary frame structure erected by a public-spirited citizen for the purpose; this was decorated by the patriotic ladies and furnished with the outfit sent on from Burlington, the temporary seat of government.

The second governor, John Chambers, a Kentuckian, came with this legislature. He had been an aide of General Harrison, and of great service in the presidential campaign of 1840. President Harrison remembered him immediately after his inauguration with this appointment to govern Iowa. He brought from his plantation a colored body-servant, and his secretary to be in fashion purchased a bright mulatto boy in town for

two hundred and fifty dollars. That boy, the only human being ever sold in Iowa city if not in the state, afterward died in southern bondage.

One day the little isolated world of pioneers heard a puffing in the river, and lo! the pennon of a Mississippi steamer fluttered back of the capitol. The delighted inhabitants honored the captain and crew with a public dinner, and the boat carried back to Burlington twenty thousand pounds of fossil sponges and corals, the deposits of which have since lured even Agassiz himself to the banks of the Iowa.

Soon afterward another steamer came, "converting the deep black waters of the Iowa into foam of milky whiteness," as expressed by an editor of that day. "On the further bluff, withdrawn timidly from the presence of the white man and seated in dismal silence, a small group of the natives of the forest regarded with astonishment and awe the approach of the big fire-canoe, believing it to be a curse of the Great Spirit, marking the progress of the pale-face feeding upon their own loved Iowa."

Down the terrace back of the capitol nearly half the town flocked, greeting the arrival with enthusiastic cheers, but the fond hope that tonnage from Cincinnati could be landed in the heart of Iowa was doomed to disappointment. Still, for many years, occasional steamers continued to ruffle "the deep black waters of the Iowa."

One bright June day in 1842 business was suspended, and the cornerstone was laid of the first academy of the future Athens of Iowa. The Mechanics' Academy was for a long time the finest school edifice in the territory. Here the young people of the forties studied Latin and geometry, here men who are the leading orators in the state to-day plumed their callow wings, and here a boyish band of cadets of temperance foreshadowed prohibition in Iowa. Through some failure in the grant, the property reverted to the state, and is now Mercy Hospital, connected with the medical college.

The annals of the west afford no parallel to the Hummer Bell. Rev. Michael Hummer was pastor of the Presbyterian church in 1841, and through his solicitation a beautiful bell had been presented by the Troy foundry and friends in the east. Upon it was inscribed the names of the donors and the church for which it was cast. Rev. Mr. Hummer had a falling out with his people and left. The citizens all felt a pride in this bell, as it was the only one in the capital, and, in fact, the only one whose chimes had broken upon the Sabbath air in all that region west of the Mississippi towns. Great, then, was the indignation when it was rumored one morning that Rev. Mr. Hummer had come back and was going to take the bell to his new field at Keokuk. The people rallied to the church. Mr.

Hummer had climbed into the belfry, and with the aid of an accomplice had let the bell down. At this interesting juncture the citizens arrived, and coolly removed the ladder, leaving the gentleman and his friend up in the belfry. While loading the bell into a wagon, sticks and stones and lath and plaster were showered down from above, but the indignant people carried the trophy away, and a trusted few sent it to the bottom of Iowa river, to remain until the disputes could be settled. All day long the prisoners pined in the belfry, but after dark a good Methodist brother took pity on them and let them down. Court was in session at the time, and Hon. John P. Cook, then a rising young sprig of the law, perpetrated the following impromptu verse, to the delight of his legal associates :

" Ah, Hummer's bell ! Ah, Hummer's bell !  
How many a tale of woe 'twould tell,  
Of Hummer riding up to town,  
To take the brazen jewel down ;  
And when high up in his belfree,  
They moved the ladder ; yes, sir-e-e !  
Thus while he towered aloft, they say,  
The bell took wings and flew away."

Three other stanzas were added by the embryo judge, Wm. H. Tuthill, and the words were set to music. In a few days the whole town was ringing with the song,

" Hummer's Bell ! Ah, Hummer's Bell ! "

Nothing, down to the days of " John Brown's Body," ever attained such sudden and lasting popularity.

A traitor in the chosen few played the city false, for when they came to look for the bell in the river it was not found. Nearly a generation after a returned Californian reported that the bell was in Salt Lake city, whither it had been spirited away (hauled overland) and sold to the Mormons. A letter to Brigham Young brought back word that it was there, and Iowa city could have it by refunding the money paid for it. Hummer heard of it, and journeying to Salt Lake city found the bell in the school-house for Brigham Young's children, and engaged a lawyer to take it by replevin ; but Brigham was awake, and when by night they reached the belfry, lo, the bell again had flown ! I would like to add that it *was* finally returned and hung in triumph in its old place where it tolls to-day as cherished as any old bell of Rotterdam or Ghent, but truth compels the statement that Iowa city did not choose to pay seven hundred dollars for a mere sentiment, and therefore the bell rests from its travels in a museum in Salt Lake city.

As early as 1848 the railroad question was agitated in Iowa city. In

1849 the first road reached Chicago ; in 1854 the first railroad touched the Mississippi at Rock Island. On New Year's eve, 1855, the Mississippi and Missouri company laid their last rail to Iowa city by the light of burning tar-barrels at midnight. Far out along the track the bonfires blazed and crowds of citizens laid rails with a right good will, to enable the contractors to complete the work before the advent of the new year. Preparations had been made to celebrate the event with befitting splendor. Thousands of invitations had been sent to the east summoning the world in general to participate in their jubilee. Here is the form, raked out of the ashes of the old capitol days :

GRAND RAILROAD FESTIVAL !

IOWA CITY AND THE ATLANTIC CITIES CONNECTED BY RAILWAY !

THE NATIONAL TRUNK ROAD HALF COMPLETED TO  
THE PACIFIC !

IOWA CITY, DEC. 18TH, 1855.

*Dear Sir :*

*You are respectfully requested to attend a celebration, at Iowa City, of the*

OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI RAILROAD

TO THE CAPITAL OF IOWA,

ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 3D, 1856.

*We hand you herewith a card, which will serve you as a PASS over the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, over the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, to and from Iowa City, and to the hospitalities of her citizens.*

This was signed by Le Grand Byington and others of the committee of invitation. January 3 was ushered in by one of the coldest days of

winter, the mercury twenty degrees below zero. The crisp snow creaked under foot, the trees glittered with frost, and the keen air nipped the unprotected ear. For weeks the whole town had been busy—turkeys by the hundred, butter by the ton, cake and pastry, fruit and flowers in sumptuous profusion awaited the bidden guests. At 2 P. M., the booming of cannon announced the arrival of the first passenger train with seven car-loads of people. Sleighs and carriages were in waiting, but, in that fierce cold, no one waited for conveyances, but rushed wildly to the warmed and decorated capitol. All the country round about was pouring in; up the winding stairs of the legislative halls, a thousand, two thousand poured to a welcome and a banquet that in point of magnificence has not to this day been surpassed by anything of the kind ever attempted in Iowa. It was the very blossoming of hope in the ambitious capital of a proud young state. At that feast, multitudinous lights shone over as fair women and as brave men as ever assembled in the west. Among the dignitaries from abroad were, General John A. Dix, of New York; Henry Farnum, the great railroad magnate; the mayor of Chicago; and capitalists and editors from many leading cities. As night sped on they heeded not the wintry blast. Within were speeches and music and dancing; without, the frost sparkled on the snowy breast of the glad New Year; and not till the wee, sma' hours of morning did the last strain die away, and the last footfall re-sound among the corridors of the capitol. Such was the welcome accorded the first railroad into the heart of the great world west of the Mississippi.

In those early days, when legislators lived in log cabins, and were chosen for worth, not wealth, they met in that old stone capitol to frame laws and constitutions, to discuss banks and boundaries, to establish counties, state institutions, and public improvements, and thus firm and sure they laid the corner-stones of Iowa. Three constitutional conventions and four territorial and six state legislatures held their sessions in those halls. Among their members were future judges, generals, and eight governors, who here read their first lessons in the science of government. Almost every member of the earlier legislatures attained distinction. Emerson says: "America is only another name for opportunity," and nowhere is this greater than in a state just doffing her territorial frock and pinafore.

There were some exciting sessions in that old state house, as when the territory was about to assume statehood, and two United States senators and three Supreme Court judges were to be elected by the legislature. The death-like silence of the crowded house was broken only by the roll-call of the clerk, as one by one the vote of each member told

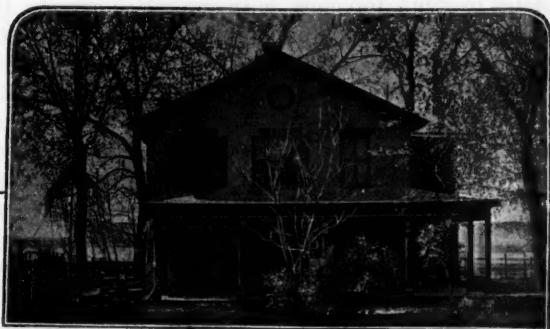
upon the fortunes of whig or democrat. No choice was made, and none could be made, so for two years after Iowa became a state she was unrepresented in the United States senate. In 1855, during the fifth general assembly, the galleries were thronged with the eager ladies of Iowa city when a prohibitory liquor law was discussed, a question that had its birth in the very first message of the first governor, and that, like Banquo's ghost, would not down until it became a law in 1882. A few days after this the election of James Harlan to the United States senate called out the rank and file of both parties. Just out of college, Harlan came to Iowa city to take charge of a proposed Methodist college. The eloquence of the young minister marked him for political favor. The Whigs nominated him for governor, and the Democrats proved him too young. He was elected superintendent of public instruction, and through some technicality the election was declared of no effect; but now the budding strength of a party yet unnamed bore the young preacher into the senate, where for seventeen eventful years he continued to represent the state of Iowa. His only child, Mary Harlan, born in Iowa city, is the wife of Robert T. Lincoln, of Chicago, so that among the queens of Garfield's cabinet there were two Iowa city ladies, as we shall presently see.

At the time of Harlan's election, a miller in his flour-covered suit made daily visits to town in the pursuit of his avocation who was destined to become the most illustrious of the men who sought their fortunes in early Iowa. On that memorable day when the Republican party of Iowa had its birth in the old capitol, the miller drove into town as usual and went into the meeting a mere spectator. At that crisis, after many others had spoken, the miller was called upon to express his opinion. Flour-dusted as he was, he came forward. "Come upon the platform," said the chairman, as he stopped at its foot.

"No, I always prefer to stand on a level with the people," was the reply, and the prompt and persuasive eloquence that followed electrified the house and made Samuel J. Kirkwood the leader of the new-born party. Some weeks after, a delegation waited upon the miller and told him he had been nominated for the state senate. Slowly he tied up a sack of meal and seating himself upon an old log told them he could not be a candidate, that he loved the music of his mill better than the strife of politicians.

"But you *must* run," was the verdict of the visitors. That year he went to the state senate, and three years later ran for governor against Hon. A. C. Dodge, who had been in the United States senate, and minister to Spain. Dodge came home for the campaign, and a series of joint debates was arranged for the rival candidates. Dodge had been nom-

inated with the expectation that his personal popularity and brilliant oratory would carry votes with the grand una-



THE GOVERNOR LUCAS HOME.



THE HOMESTEAD OF SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD,  
THE WAR GOVERNOR OF IOWA.

nimity of old. Kirkwood was comparatively unknown, a plain-spoken, homespun-clad pioneer. Kirkwood has been called another Lincoln; Dodge was his Douglas. In the

newspaper language of the day, Kirkwood "flayed him alive," and he ran away from the debates. At one place where they were to speak, Dodge's party met him with a carriage and four beautiful horses. Kirkwood's people met him with a hay-rack and a yoke of oxen. By storm he carried the hearts of the pioneers, and by storm he carried the state for three gubernatorial terms with ever increasing majorities.

During his first term as governor the war broke out, and through private contributions Governor Kirkwood fitted out the first Iowa regiment, and sent it to the front long before the general government was ready for that duty. Kirkwood was governor of Iowa at a time when the office implied exalted honor and power. By virtue of that office he signed the commissions for the most part of the officers who commanded the eighty thousand men Iowa sent into the field; he levied armies, and was the faithful custodian of vast sums of public treasure. With a firm hand he quelled incipient rebellion in Iowa, and by his firmness, his economy, and his liberality, the "Old War Governor" of Iowa caused one of the youngest

states to stand foremost in the annals of honor. His nomination for the third term was after a period of retirement. The convention was divided as to candidates, when, without his knowledge or consent, the name "KIRKWOOD" startled the contending sides.

"By whose authority is Kirkwood's name brought here?" asked a member in deprecating tones. "*By authority of the great Republican party of Iowa,*" thundered the speaker, towering above the heads of the convention. The magic of the name reconciled the rival factions, and rolled up the greatest majority Iowa ever had known.

In his two congressional terms Kirkwood seldom spoke, but when he did he was awarded strict attention from both sides of the senate. At the close of one of his speeches, Ben Hill of Georgia rose and said:

"The senator from Iowa has made a speech worthy of a senator anywhere and in any age. I want my friend to know and I want his people to know that the patriotic, the manly, the catholic, the national, the unsectional sentiments which fell from his lips and which I know animate his bosom, meet with a warm response in mine and in the bosoms of my people. He, and such as he, whether Republicans or Democrats, we can take to our arms and our hearts and call our fellow citizens."

Blaine once said of him that he would rather have Sam Kirkwood on his side before a Maine audience than any other public speaker he knew, because of his knack of pleasing the common people. Garfield said, when he chose him to his cabinet, he "loved him because he got so near the people." In Kirkwood the days of old simplicity lived again. That the homespun senator from the west did not "live up to his blue china," was well known in Washington. A tailor there once put a fashion plate in his window of Garfield's cabinet in the latest style. An old friend in passing was so amused that he bought a lot of the plates and sent them to Kirkwood's friends in Iowa.

On a part of the old Governor Lucas estate is the Kirkwood home, where he who has been honored as no other man in Iowa was ever honored is spending his declining years. On any pleasant summer's day the ex-governor's patriarchal figure can be seen on the vine-clad porch, or lounging under his favorite linden reading the news. In winter he sits before the genial open fire of his pleasant library and greets with a warm hand-clasp the frequent visitor, and ever by his side is his sunny-tempered wife, domestic in her nature as Martha Washington herself. In their cabinet days a Washington correspondent said of Mrs. Kirkwood, "I saw her enter the marble room at the capitol the other day attired in a quiet, elegant costume of black velvet, and I thought how proud Iowa ought to

be of her representative woman, who was by her manners and dress every inch a true and noble lady."

When Kirkwood began his public career the capital was at Iowa city, and after its removal the governor's headquarters were at the miller's old home. For nearly twenty years, and under the administration of five governors, Iowa city held the sceptre, but by a new treaty with the Sacs and Foxes a further unsettled territory was opened, and a new centre created; then the capitol was removed to Fort Des Moines, a promising town with four thousand inhabitants in the heart of the prairie. Wrath and despair seized Iowa city, her business seemed paralyzed, her hopes were blighted, and when one sagacious citizen thought of securing the state university, many in anger refused to sign the paper he circulated; but in 1857 the legislative property was removed to Des Moines, and the students of the state university appropriated the abandoned capitol, which was left as a legacy to education forever.

The archives were gone. The old days were ended, but a new era began, rich with the romance that always pervades a university town. From being the seat of politics and politicians, it became the seat of linguists and of learning. Historical rooms, libraries, museums, academies arose, and schools, classical, scientific, commercial, law, medical, and dental, clustered around the state university. The grim old capitol, designed to resound with legislative eloquence, is now the scholastic retreat of the ambitious law student, and on that historic height other buildings have arisen to be the conservators of science and art. To the younger generation the old capital days are a myth and a legend, but to their parents the actors of that old drama live as yesterday.

Judging from its history and its buildings, from its trees and gardens and elegant homes, Iowa city is an old town in a new state. There is a haze of the past over it, a tinge of conservatism, through and behind which dashes the fresh red blood of youth. Scholars love it; clubs, literary, historic, and scientific, haunt its libraries, and numerous visitors annually bear witness to its continued hospitality; yet as compared with the east Iowa city is young, with a future unfolding full of promise as any university town of new or old world fame.

*Eva Emery Dye.*

IOWA CITY, IOWA.

## THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY

### THE OLDEST MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts is the offspring of The Honourable Artillery Company of London, the oldest military organization in the world. The latter was incorporated by King Henry VIII. in 1537, as a nursery or school for training soldiers. This London corps antedates by more than one hundred years the formation of any other British military company, and has already celebrated its three hundred and fiftieth birthday. Nor is age its chief distinction. It has been commanded by kings and princes, officered by dukes and earls; the proudest families of the realm have been glad to enroll their sons among its members, while it has been granted and still enjoys many privileges and immunities peculiar to itself. From the time of its foundation until the present it has been wholly distinct from all other military bodies, is self sustaining, receives no aid from the public funds, is the only corps outside of the regular British army that bears the "Queen's colours," and its government is based upon royal warrants that have been confirmed by each succeeding sovereign from the time of Henry VIII.

When the American branch of the Honourable Artillery Company was organized, it adopted not only the plan and purpose of its famous prototype, but also many of its customs; and it is probably due to this circumstance—though many of these customs have been discarded by the London company—that the relations existing between the two are now so unique. Each is absolutely independent of the other, the English company recognizes the American as its offspring, while the latter is pleased to claim so illustrious a parent, and every year strengthens the bond uniting these, the oldest affiliated military organizations in existence.

Yet the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts was founded in a manner characteristically American. It did not lean on the parent corps for support; it was not begun by men sent out from London for the purpose of establishing it; but was the direct outgrowth of a military spirit which the dangers of an unexplored country compelled the early settlers to cultivate.\* The "Pilgrim fathers" were brave men,

\* In the preparation of this paper every important authority has been consulted, Whitman, Raikes, Winthrop, the "Records" of the company, etc., and acknowledgments are also due to Colonel Henry Walker of Boston for original material. Conflicting statements have been in every instance closely scrutinized.

understanding the use of warlike weapons, and, though coming to the new world for peace and freedom to worship God in their own way, they came with musket in one hand and Bible in the other. Every reader of New England history knows how the flint-lock hung over the door of each rude cottage, how the Puritan went to church carrying his loaded musket, and stood at the entrance to his pew during the long prayer, not daring to kneel lest the sentry on guard outside should shout "To arms!" and when that cry came these men at once formed their company in the aisle, and the meeting-house became an armed fortress.

Regular bodies of militia were of necessity organized in the very earliest days of the Plymouth colony, and were regarded of such importance as to be mentioned in the "Charter of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," it being therein stated that the governor has authority "to train, instruct, and govern the militia—to assemble in martial array and put in warlike posture the inhabitants, to conduct them in service, within and without the province, by sea and land, to resist invasion, and to attack and destroy, pursue and capture, the public enemy."

At the close of the first Indian war in which Massachusetts engaged—that short and bloody conflict with the Pequods—the rulers of Boston feasted the victorious militia-men. Some of the soldiers and a few merchants and "gentlemen" of the infant colony, former members of the Honourable Artillery Company of London, suggested a military organization, the aim of which should be to instruct men in the art of war and introduce a better and uniform system of military tactics. After shaping the new company, they petitioned the general court for a charter. This petition was not at first favorably received; the need of a substantial military organization was generally admitted, but the fears of the court, the jealousy of the council, and the apprehensions of the governor combined to crush it. "Divers gentlemen and others," so writes Governor Winthrop in his journal,\* "being joined in a military company, desired to be made a corporation. But the council, considering (from the example of the Pretorian band among the Romans and Templars in Europe) how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily, in time, overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes." The governor, however, soon perceived that such a company would strengthen his power rather than diminish it, and through his influence the charter was finally granted. Winthrop adds to the notice in his journal, "Yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to all authority." On the seventeenth day of March, 1638, the much-discussed petition was

\*Winthrop's *History of New England*, from 1630 to 1649.

approved, by order of the general court. At the time this charter was granted, Boston, in Massachusetts, says Josselyn, was "rather a village than a town, there being not above twenty or thirty houses." Yet the Puritans, while tilling the soil and fighting savages and wild beasts, had not been idle in the matter of extirpating heresy and trying to keep pure the faith. Roger Williams had escaped through the snow-enshrouded forests to Rhode Island rather than be sent over the sea in chains, Henry Vane had gone to his glorious life and heroic death in England, Mrs. Hutchinson had fled to Long Island, and not even the great popularity of Captain John Underhill, the hero of the Pequod war, who had stormed Fort Mystic and won the skirmishes on the Zuyder Zee, could save him from the ignominious surrender of his sword and the decree of banishment. Many distinguished soldiers were required to surrender their arms to the first commander of the new military company, and none of the charter members of the organization were allowed to place their names on its roll until they had been examined by the council "as to their views concerning the doctrine of justification by faith and the work of the Holy Ghost." The General Court of Massachusetts Bay had already, in 1636, granted a charter to "the Corporation of Harvard College," the first ever granted by the court; the second, and the only other granted for more than one hundred years, was the charter of this ancient artillery company.

The document reads as follows :

"Whereas divers Gentlemen and others, out of their care of the public weal and safety, by the advancement of the military art, and exercise of arms, have desired license of the Court to join themselves in one company, and to have the liberty to exercise themselves, at such times as their occasions will best permit; and that such liberties and privileges might be granted them as the Court should think meet, for their better encouragement and furtherance, in so useful an employment; which request of theirs being referred by the Court unto us of the *Standing Council*, we have thought fit, upon serious consideration, and conference with divers of the principal of them, to set down an order herein as followeth :

*Imprimis.* We do order that Robert Keayne, merchant; Nathaniel Duncan, merchant; Robert Sedgwick, gentleman; William Spencer, merchant; and such others as they have already joined with them, and such as they shall from time to time take into their company, shall be called the MILITARY COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS."\*

\* The name was soon changed to "The Artillery Company," and, even after the use of artillery was abandoned by its members, in 1690, the name remained unchanged. The general court recognized the organization as "The Artillery Company" until about 1738, after which it is spoken of as "The Honorable Artillery Company" or "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." The records use the word "honorable" for the first time in 1743, and the full title only after 1786. These changes in name have been confirmed by acts of the state legislature.—*Raikes's History of the Honourable Artillery Company of London.*

The charter then goes on to state the privileges granted the company, which certainly were remarkable: "They . . . shall have liberty to choose their captain, lieutenant, and all other officers, . . . and no officer by their own bound to at- other military of it; no other meetings ing-days; they themselves," and collect of their own exceed not twenty shillings for any one offense"; they might assemble, for military exercises, in any town within the jurisdiction of the court, at their own pleasure, and they were granted one thousand acres of land, "for providing necessaries for their military exercises, and defraying of other charges, which may arise by occasion thereof." Then, as if the council still feared the ultimate supremacy of the military power, it was "*provided* always, that this order, or grant, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to free the



SEAL OF THE COMPANY.

said Company, or any of them, their persons or estates, from the civil government and jurisdiction here established." The four persons mentioned by name in the charter were chosen from the four important towns in the colony, in order that it might be understood, once for all, that the company, though having its headquarters in Boston, belonged to the commonwealth. It was also understood that it was a "training-school"—the West Point of New England, as it has since been called—that its members might hold commissions in any of the militia organizations in the colony, and that all of its own officers should be chosen annually, so that each member might know how to command, as well as obey. It is a fact worthy of

shall be put upon them but choice." No member was tend "trainings" in any organization unless an officer trainings, or ordinary town could be held on their train- could "make order amongst manage their own affairs, levy fines and forfeitures on any members, "so as the same



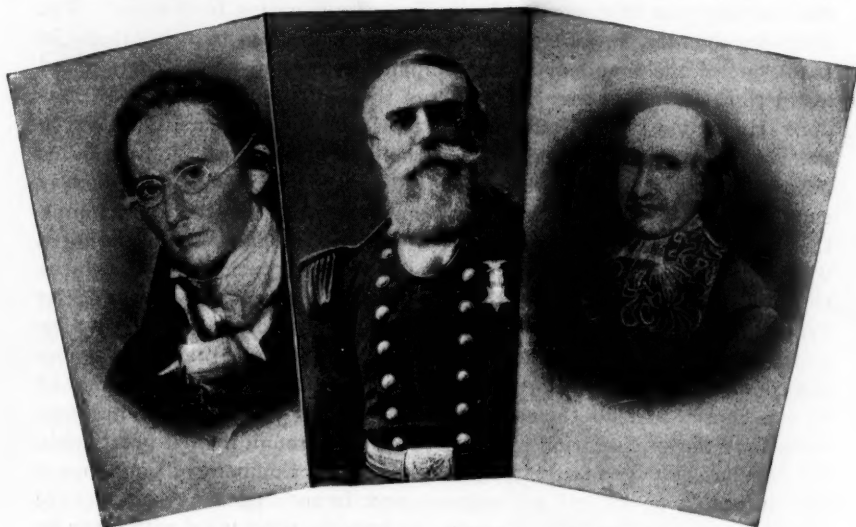
DEVICE ON THE NEW COLORS OF THE COMPANY.

note that the "Military Company of the Massachusetts" was the only training-school for officers in America for nearly two centuries.

On the first Monday in June, 1639—somewhat more than a year having elapsed since the granting of the charter—the company held its first election of officers, and Robert Keayne was chosen commander, Daniel Haugh, lieutenant, Joseph Weld, ensign. These and many others of the original members had belonged to the Honourable Artillery Company of London, and it was owing to their influence that so many of the customs of that venerable corps were adopted: the ceremonies incident to the annual inauguration of officers, the sermon, dinner, etc., dating from this time.

It is noticeable that the charter members and early commanders of the company were men of wealth and station, some of them occupying important political positions, some famed as leaders of society, others noted for their benevolence. Keayne, Duncan, Sedgwick, Spencer, mentioned in the charter, were men of great political and social influence, and another charter member, Nicholas Upshall, became notable a little later by reason of the manner in which the government rewarded his philanthropic efforts. He furnished food to the Quakers imprisoned in the jails of that time, and built a board fence about the Potter's field to keep the dogs from the bodies of those who had been hanged for their religion—such being left unburied in accordance with the decree of the court; for these and similar acts he was driven at length from Boston into the wilderness, befriended by Roger Williams for eleven years, and then, daring to revisit Boston, was at once imprisoned and kept in confinement until he died. Few, indeed, were the men of note of that day who were not made to feel, to a greater or less degree, the operation of the severe laws of the commonwealth: not even Robert Keayne, the founder and first commander of the company, escaped. He was born in England in 1595, became a merchant tailor by trade, and in religion a Puritan of the sterner sort. On account of his liberal donations, not only to the Plymouth colony as a whole, but to many individual members of it, he was widely and favorably known among his brethren, and in 1635 came to America and settled in Boston. His great wealth was surpassed by his generosity, he at once took an active part in promoting the public works of the new town, was a deputy to the general court for many years, and also a member of the colonial legislature. He materially assisted in placing Harvard college on a sound financial basis, and gave liberally to all religious and charitable objects. Yet, in 1639, the general court, of which he was a member, charged him with "great oppression in the sale of foreign commodities," in that he took "above six-pence in the shilling profit; in some above eight-pence; and,

in some small things, above two for one." He was found guilty, sentenced to pay a fine of £200, and was sharply rebuked for his "covetous practice 1. He being an ancient professor of the gospel: 2. A man of eminent parts: 3. Wealthy, and having but one child: 4. Having come over for conscience' sake, and for the advancement of the gospel here: 5. Having been formerly dealt with and admonished, both by private friends and also by some of the magistrates and elders, and having promised reformation; being a member of a church and commonwealth now in their infancy, and under the curious observation of all the world." As to the fine, however,



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN WINSLOW.

COLONEL HENRY WALKER.

MAJOR THOMAS SAVAGE.

COMMANDERS OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY, 1767, 1887, 1660.

the magistrates thought £100 sufficient for such an offense, and a lively discussion arose between them and the deputies concerning the amount; but the deputies gave way at last, and the merchant paid the £100.

The first period of the artillery company's history extends from the date of its charter to 1686, when its meetings were suppressed by Governor Andros. In this period occurred its first great decline and revival, the first rules and regulations for its governance were adopted, while the colony organized its militia and finally took part in the war called King Philip's. The most noted of the commanders during this period were Gibbons, Sedgwick, Savage, and Leverett.

Major-General Edward Gibbons, the second commander of the company, was born in England, and came to America in 1629. His military career began the very year he entered the colony; for he was a member of one of the first formed militia corps, and not only commanded the artillery company, but also the Suffolk regiment, and finally became major-general of all the Massachusetts militia. He was deputy to the general court nearly ten years, a member of the commission which framed the New England union of 1643, a man of indomitable energy, an enthusiast in military affairs, and contributed liberally from his private means to further the carrying out of plans for improving the defenses of Boston. The third commander, Major-General Robert Sedgwick (in 1640, 1645, and in 1648), one of the founders of the company, was "a man of education and distinction," who had been a member of the Honourable Artillery of London. He settled in Charlestown in 1635, was for many years a deputy to the general court, organized and led the first "train band" formed in his own town, was made colonel of the Middlesex regiment, and subsequently commander of all the militia of the commonwealth. Of the many important military expeditions in which he engaged, probably the most noted was the one against the Spanish West Indies in 1655, that resulted in the capture of Jamaica. He died there in the following year, just after Oliver Cromwell had appointed him governor of the island with the rank of major-general. But the most popular commander of the time, the first of whom the company possesses a portrait, was Major Thomas Savage. Five times\* he was chosen to lead the company, and it was owing chiefly to his exertions that the organization was carried safely through its first great crisis. He, too, had belonged to the Honourable Artillery Company of London, was well informed on all military matters, and, being a person of intelligence and the possessor of wealth, he seems to have been regarded with favor by the Boston people as soon as he made his home among them—for many important offices were conferred upon him, and he was one of the trustees to whom Madam Norton conveyed the "Old South" property. The history of Sir John Leverett, the last of the early commanders above mentioned, is comparatively well known. The story of his early life in Boston, his return to England to serve under Cromwell in the struggle against his king, how he gained the friendship of the great Puritan general and was made commander of a company of foot-soldiers, has been many times told. His subsequent life in America, however, is of more importance to the student of colonial history than the stirring events of his

\* In 1651, 1659, 1668, 1675, 1680. His five sons were members of the company, and one of them, as well as two of his grandsons and one great-grandson, commanded it.

career in Europe. Three times (1652, 1663, 1670) he was elected commander of the artillery company, and he was successively a delegate to the general court, one of the governor's council, major-general of the militia,

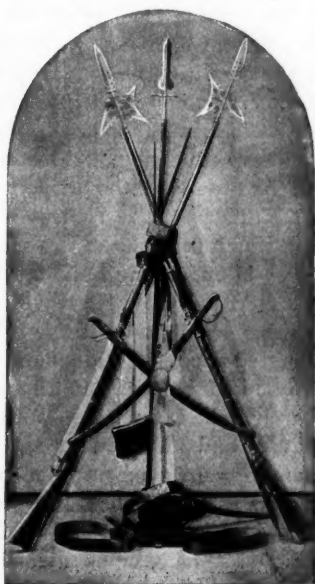


STANDARD OF THE COMPANY.

deputy-governor, and governor of the commonwealth, all the while retaining his membership in this "ancient" organization. The ease and skill with which he transacted the public business and the ability displayed by him as governor during King Philip's war attracted the favorable notice of Charles II., who knighted him in 1676, three years before his death.

The company began its career under the most favorable auspices,

and seemed to realize the design of its founders by training men to be efficient officers in all branches of the service; so, when the first real organization of the scattered militia companies was effected, in 1644, many of the officers were chosen from it. The militia as at this time organized consisted of four regiments—one in each county of the colony—each commanded by a sergeant-major, the entire body being under the command of an officer styled major-general, or sergeant-major-general, who was annually appointed by the legislature. As no high-sounding titles were tolerated, so no military regalia was allowed, and even as late as 1775 the officers wore only knots of ribbon, of different colors, as insignia of their rank. These bodies of militia were to perform military duty at least eight days in the year, under penalty of a fine of five shillings for failure to comply with the requirement. "None were exempt," the record states, "save tim-



STAND OF ARMS.

orous persons, . . . and, for the honor of the age, they were but few."

Yet, though founded and upheld by the most prominent men in the colony, warmly supported by Governor Winthrop and his sons—three of whom had become members of it—though the militia was officered by men chosen from its ranks, while its friends were lavish of praise and did not withhold the money necessary for its support, the prosperity of the company was short-lived. Two hundred and seventy-eight names were placed on its rolls during the first decade of its existence, and but forty-seven during the second. It had sustained heavy losses, too, by reason of transfers, by death, and especially because many of its most active and influential members had gone back to England to assist the "Roundheads" in their struggle with the "Cavaliers"; and the fact that some of them afterward won fame in the ranks of Cromwell's "Ironsides" was of no material benefit. It met with a further loss, in 1656, in the death of Captain Keayne, its founder and warmest friend. The deep interest he took in the welfare of the "noble Society of the Artillery Company" is shown by his will, a document, which not only illustrates his own character, but throws light on the condition of the company in that period.\* It is of priceless value, as, except an imperfect list of members, all the early records of the organization were lost. In this will, the captain, after stating that he had received a military education, had fostered the military spirit in every way possible, and had founded the artillery company, asks "to be buried as a Souldier, in a Military way." He leaves to the city the sum of three hundred pounds with which to build an "exchange," and directs that "a Convenient fayre Room in one of the buildings be Set a part for an Armory & the meeting of the Artillery." He leaves the company five pounds "to be Layed out in Pikes and Bandals," five pounds toward erecting a platform for "two mounted peeces of Ordnance," and then adds the unique legacy of *two cows*, "to be kept as a stocke, Constantly, the increase or profit of these Cowes yearly to be layed out in powder, Bullets, &c." Nor is this all. He states that he had intended to enrich the company by means of other gifts "of some consequence," but that the poor appearance of the corps, coupled with the fact that it seemed to be growing smaller day by day, caused him to fear its final dissolution, "and so all gifts will sink with it and come to nothing." Another legacy, by no means despicable, is the good advice the captain

\* Remarkable, among other things, for its great length: it fills one hundred and fifty-eight of the folio pages of Vol. I. of Records in the probate office. Portions of it are given, with more or less accuracy, in *Raikes's History of the Honourable Artillery Company of London*, and a few extracts from it may be found in Vol. VI. of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Record*.

gives, in his quaint English, as to how the idleness and extravagance of the "noble society" may be abolished. He calls on the organization to observe its field-days regularly and faithfully; to practice constantly all the known military evolutions, study the science of fortification, strive to advance in knowledge as to the use of the "great artillery," improve its tactics, etc., and do all in its power to fulfill its obligations to the commonwealth—advocating the imposition and prompt collection of fines as a means of punishing its negligent or recalcitrant members. It was, perhaps, owing to this will that the organization did not actually cease to exist. For, though the interest created by it was neither deep nor lasting, it certainly checked the downward tendency of affairs, and led the next year to the drawing up of certain "rules and regulations" for the government of the corps, which are said to be the first laws ever formulated for this purpose, and they were sanctioned by the governor September 7, 1657.

The languid interest awakened by Captain Keayne's will and the publication of these orders brought about a more prosperous condition of affairs, but it was not until 1670 that a genuine revival was effected. Many new members were then added, and, owing to the activity of certain prominent citizens of Boston, "the Artillery" started forward with the vigor and buoyancy of a new organization. This thorough "awakening" was fortunate, for it was by reason of the persistency with which its members maintained their discipline and drill that the year 1675 found the militia companies officered by men fully prepared to contend successfully with so able and crafty an enemy as the notorious Metacomet, or "King Philip." The company was well represented in King Philip's war, several of its members taking part not only in the battles fought in Massachusetts, but also in those of Rhode Island.

Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston as governor of New England on the twenty-first day of December, 1686, and at once entered upon that system of administration stigmatized as "tyrannical." By removing from office all magistrates elected under the old charter, by restraining the liberty of the press, by compelling land-owners at great expense to procure new titles to their property, and by bringing even the legislature and general court almost entirely under his control, he succeeded in precipitating the catastrophe that brought his administration to a sudden close. When he landed in Boston, the artillery company was commanded by Colonel John Phillips, of Charlestown. It had admitted several members at the beginning of the year, was in every way prosperous, and already was making preparations to celebrate its coming June anniversary in an unusually impressive manner. But the governor, either fearing that his prerogative

might be endangered by the coming together of this body, or desirous of displaying his authority in ways as many and various as possible, forbade any meeting whatever of the organization, and did all in his power to destroy it; thus the June anniversary was not celebrated, nor did the company again meet or admit any new members during his short rule.

What may be called the second period of the history of the organization, extending from 1689 to 1775, opens with the revolt of the citizens of Boston in connection with the English revolution, and ends with the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Hardly had the news of the accession of William and Mary reached Boston when the whole town was in an uproar. Crowds of excited people rushed through the streets—the magistrates themselves being the leaders. A summons for the arrest of the governor and his council was prepared and signed, and William Stoughton and ten other members of the artillery company were sent to him with it; but, while he was deliberating as to what he should do, a small body of men led by Captain John Nelson appeared, and Sir Edmund was escorted to prison, and a council of safety was chosen to manage public affairs until directions should come from England. Captain Nelson and his associates in this exploit were all members of the artillery company, he being the same Nelson who was prohibited from holding any office in the colonial government on account of his Church of England proclivities, and who afterward was imprisoned in Quebec and in Paris because he revealed to the Massachusetts people designs against them by the French.

On the first Monday in April, 1690, the scattered members of the company again assembled, and, having lost all their old officers either by death or removal, they elected Colonel Elisha Hutchinson, of Boston, as acting commander until the coming anniversary day, and appointed Dr. Cotton Mather to preach the sermon at that time. Successful efforts were made to place the organization on a sound footing once more, many distinguished men added their names to the lengthening roll, regular meetings were held, field duties were again performed, and, until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the meetings were interrupted but once—in 1721—when they “were omitted in consequence of the General Assembly, at their last session, having forbid all training and trooping in Boston, by reason of the vast number of people exercised with the small-pox.”

During this period of the company's history the colonies were engaged in four wars, the final result of which gave the mother country that far-reaching territory she still holds, but which brought few advantages to the New England people who won it for her. The company could take no part in these or any other wars as a body, yet its members fought in

every engagement in which  
In "King William's war"  
that reduced Port Royal,  
cessful attacks on  
in "Queen Anne's war"  
the second reduction  
winning the victory  
"Annapolis" to  
and near the  
of the same  
struggle they  
not found  
ing in  
to help  
York

Massachusetts troops participated.  
they officered the battalions  
and engaged in the unsuc-  
Montreal and Quebec;  
they took part in  
of Port Royal,  
that gave  
England;  
close

were  
want-  
courage  
their New  
and New  
Jersey asso-  
ciates bear the  
chagrin of the



PANEUIL HALL, BOSTON. DRILL-ROOM OF THE ANCIENT ARTILLERY COMPANY.

disgraceful failure of the great expedition against Canada—a failure for which the English officers of the royal army were alone responsible. In "King George's war" they led the troops that stormed and won the

"impregnable" fastnesses of Louisburg, furnishing from their own number the engineer who planned the attack.

At home, however, the company underwent various experiences—periods of stagnation, decline, advance—its history as an organization almost disappearing in the events that ushered in the Revolution—events in which nearly all of its members participated, and which ultimately aided in preserving the very body it seemed inevitable they should destroy.

The first evidence of an unsatisfactory condition of the company's affairs appears in the revision of the "Rules and Orders" that was effected in the year 1700. The rules, as revised, were never sanctioned by the general court or the council, though they were enforced during many years. Probably it was regarded as unnecessary for the court to stamp them with its approbation, as few changes were made from the old orders of 1657.

Prior to the year 1700 the rolls contain the names of six hundred and sixty-two members, nearly all of whom are declared to be "persons of note," belonging to some one of the "orthodox" churches in or near Boston; in fact, certain of the founders of Brattle Street church, King's chapel, Old South church, as well as the first ministers at Andover and Gloucester, were members of this organization, while Harvard college was represented in its ranks, twenty-one of its members being graduates of that institution. The company seems always to have been kindly disposed to the college, its members donating land, buildings, live-stock, and money. Among the noted families of old Boston whose names are found on the company's roll at this time are those of Borland, Checkley, Davenport, Dudley, Gibbons, Leverett, Mather, Oakes, Oliver, Saltonstall, Savage, Townsend, Wainwright, and Winthrop.

At the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, few of the older families were represented in the ranks of the "Ancient and Honorable," and for twenty years it declined in numbers, reputation, influence. It is difficult to determine what led to this state of things, but, if tradition may be true, the extravagance of its entertainments and the formation of the cadet corps were the chief causes. The cadet corps was formed as an especial escort, or body-guard, for the governor on occasions of ceremony. Its founder and presiding genius was the famous Colonel Pollard, high sheriff of Suffolk county, one of the first Americans to make a tour of Europe, the organizer of the earliest "fire society" in this country, and the first to introduce the bayonet among the militia companies of Boston. Captain Thomas Edwards, commander of the artillery company, protested against the granting by the legislature of a charter to the new corps, fearing it would obtain privileges and exemptions not enjoyed by his own

command ; but he could not prevent it, and the cadet corps sprang into animated life, and became very popular.

This was in 1754, and the fortunes of the company seem to have declined steadily until October, 1760, when a meeting was held at the house of Ensign Josiah Waters, afterward captain and commander, at which it was proposed to take measures to give the corps a more exclusive cast, hoping to increase its social power as well as its finances, by attracting to it only persons of quality. A series of resolutions was passed in April following; but the desired result was not attained, the list of members did not lengthen, and so much was said concerning its extravagance that in May, 1762, a committee was appointed to ascertain in what way the expenses of the company could be reduced, and at the same time "the dignity and honor of the company be preserved." The committee proposed that the cost of the annual dinner, to which the governor, council, etc., are always invited, should be paid by the commissioned officers for the ensuing year; that the first, second, third, and fourth sergeants should entertain the company at the September, October, April, and May field-days, respectively, "with punch and wine and bread,\* and nothing more, . . . pipes and tobacco entirely excluded; and it is recommended that the company dismiss themselves so seasonable as to prevent the unnecessary expense of candles."

The report was adopted, but the complaints were not silenced about the extravagance of the banquets and the "extraordinary expenses attending the officers of the said company," and in September, 1767, another committee was appointed to devise some plan to lessen the expenses and "*to raise the reputation of the company.*" This committee presented a report in which was urged the necessity of making exact inquiry as to the finances of the organization, and, "supposing them to amount to £500," it is recommended that "the interest on this amount, or \$100, . . . be annually appropriated to assist the officers in the anniversary expenses," which should not exceed that amount. It was also recommended that the dinners furnished by the sergeants on training-days should consist of the following bill-of-fare, which is thought to be fully sufficient, viz. :

	£	s.	d.
9 bottles, that is, 2 gals., of wine.....	0	9	4
8 gals. of punch { half hundred of lemons.....	0	10	8
{ rum and sugar.....	0	6	8
Biscuit.....	0	4	8
10 lbs. cheese.....	0	6	8
	£1	18	0

\* The words "and cheese" were inserted here by a special vote of the company in May of the following year, 1763.

"If *souring is scarce and dear*, then the sergeants to provide wine only, that the sum of £1 18s. be not exceeded." After some other advice as to how the expenses may be kept to a more economical standard, the report concludes: "If the members of the company were a little industrious, and would communicate to such as they are connected with, who may be likely to join us, how trifling the expense is like to be now, to what it was formerly, we should soon have as sufficient number as desired." It is gratifying to note that the effect of these measures was such that the company grew rapidly in numbers, and before three years had gone by nearly all of the officers of the Boston militia, and many other persons, had joined it. The various measures by which it was saved from dissolution and once more brought into a prosperous condition were chiefly due to the unwearied efforts of Major-General John Winslow, of Plymouth, who had been elected commander the same year in which he was enrolled as a member—a rare honor, conferred only on persons of high military rank distinguished for public services. General Winslow was the great-grandson of the first governor of Plymouth colony, and at this time one of the most distinguished military leaders in America. Among the important commands conferred on him was that of the Boston company, which served in the Cuban expedition of 1740; he also fought in the French and Indian war, and was at one time commander-in-chief of the northern forces, while as special commissioner from his colony he had assisted in settling territorial claims, adjusting boundaries, etc., and in many other ways had been of service to the colony. He was a warm friend of the artillery company, freely spending money and time in its service, and endeavoring in every possible way to preserve its prestige and augment its power.

The first "misunderstanding" between the company and his majesty's troops arose on a field-day in 1768. Several British regiments were quartered in Boston, but, according to custom, the men proceeded to the Common and performed their usual field-day evolutions, when, as it became evident the exercises would not be finished before the time for the roll-call of the British troops, the commanding officer sent orders to Lieutenant William Heath (then acting-commander) to allow no firing on returning the colors. The lieutenant, thinking it his duty to obey his superior officer in his majesty's service, marched the company to Faneuil Hall, and into the armory in silence; but the men, highly incensed at what they regarded an infringement of their privileges, bitterly upbraided their commander for obeying the order. It is reported of Orderly-Sergeant Hopeskill that after reaching his home, he gave vent to his feelings by firing his musket three times from the top of his house, and many years

after refused to vote for Heath—then major-general—as governor, because of his “cowardly action” in this instance. Major-General Heath was elected commander in 1770, and, besides holding many important positions in the state, took an active part in all the actions in and about Boston preceding the Revolution, as well as in the war itself. He was one of the first five major-generals appointed in 1775, and was the last surviving major-general of the Revolutionary army.

At the company's annual meeting in June, 1774, the anniversary sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop of Boston. The occasion is noteworthy in history, not because the sermon itself was earnest and patriotic but because there was a body of British troops stationed outside the church, while a sentry stood “on guard” on the pulpit stairs to intimidate the good doctor, lest he should be guilty of “seditious or rebellious utterances.” Dr. Lathrop afterward said he had preached republicanism with a British sentry, armed, on the pulpit stairs, to watch his words. This was the last anniversary celebrated before the Revolution—the last annual meeting held for twelve years—and with it closes the second period of the company's existence.

Its patriotic members, however, were conspicuous actors in the events that ushered in the great struggle, many of whom rose to be officers of high standing before it had ended, and few, indeed, assembled at its close. Though no anniversary was held in 1775, the April field-day was observed by a majority of its members, who, on reaching Boston Common, which had always been their drill-ground, were refused admittance, it being then occupied by British troops. Captain Bell, the commander, marched his men to Copp's hill, where they went through with their regular exercises. The captain, soon after, was brought before the authorities, and asked why he had taken his men to the hill. He replied that the hill was their own property, and that no one had a right to forbid them the use of their own ground for their own legal purposes. On being asked what he would have done had a party of British troops been in possession of the place and had forbidden his entrance, he answered: “I would have charged bayonets and forced my way, as surely as I would force my way into my dwelling-house if taken possession of by a gang of thieves.”

When the war for independence began, a few members of the company remained firm in their loyalty to the crown, but by far the greater number were active in striving to maintain the rights of the colonists. They did this in many ways: Colonel Josiah Waters marched on foot behind Ebenezer Dorr, as he rode his ancient steed over Boston Neck to warn the neighboring towns of the approach of the British, at the time of the raid

on Concord; Captain Joseph Eaton hauled down the first British flag lowered during the Revolution, and was one of the unknown "Indians" that assisted at the great "tea party"; Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller, raised a regiment of artillery for the patriot army, brought fifty-five guns from the Canadian frontier forts to Boston in mid-winter, and during the war became noted not alone for his brilliant qualities as an officer, but as "Washington's friend," and Secretary of War in the first cabinet; Major-General Benjamin Lincoln was active in organizing and training the continental troops, and afterward conspicuous at White Plains, Saratoga, Savannah, etc. These are only examples of what was done by members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

To certain members of this body the continental army was indebted, at the very beginning of the war, for its ordnance. The American forces had no artillery whatever. Boston, entirely in the power of the British soldiery, was effectively guarded. As the patriots were assembling in the neighborhood, and their officers uncertain what course to pursue, it became known that two field-pieces remained in the old gunhouse, at the southern end of the town, and Samuel Gore with two others entered this building one dark night, after carefully removing some boards from the side of it, and dismounted the guns and concealed them, first, as is said, in the capacious wood-box of the neighboring school-house, then in a load of manure, in which they were carted from the town next day, under the very eyes of the unsuspecting guard, and to the American camp, proving of very great assistance to the colonists. These guns were used in many battles, were captured and recaptured several times, but fortunately were in the possession of the Americans when the fighting was over. They had been christened by the patriotic names of "Hancock" and "Adams," and at the close of the war were confided to the care of the artillery company, and were ornamented with the following inscription, the name alone being changed:

"THE HANCOCK. Sacred to Liberty.

This is one of the four cannon which constituted the whole train of Field Artillery possessed by the British Colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1775. *This cannon*, and its fellow, belonged to a number of citizens of Boston; were used in many engagements during the war. The other two, the property of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

By order of the United States, in Congress assembled, May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1788."

The field-piece called "Adams" was split at target practice under Captain G. Wells. The governor and council afterward gave both pieces to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to be placed in the monument.

It would be impossible, in a brief sketch of the history of this ancient organization, to mention all its members who distinguished themselves in the Revolution, or in the eight other wars in which they have borne part. In the greater struggle two colonels, one major, and three captains of the continental army were ex-commanders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, while several of its privates became officers in the same army during the war, and one, whose conscience would not suffer him to swerve from his allegiance to King George, distinguished himself by founding the professorship of law at Harvard. After peace was established, the greatest apathy in regard to military affairs seemed to oppress the citizens of Boston. The fortifications on Fort Hill fell into decay, the militia apparently was non-existent, and the faintest indication of military spirit was not to be found. Indeed, at the general election in 1786, the governor was escorted by the Roxbury Artillery under Major Spooner, the *Centinel* of that day complaining that it was impossible to raise in Boston even so small a body of militia as twenty-five to attend the governor, adding that there was not one commissioned officer or soldier who would turn out. Many sarcastic references to the unchivalric character of the Boston militia appeared in this newspaper, and in the issue of 5th July there was published what purported to be a letter from Roxbury, detailing plans for the formation of a new militia company by "the ladies."

But the cloud suddenly disappeared. Men saw the necessity of military organizations, and in the autumn of that year several bands of militia either began their existence or were reorganized, the military spirit of emulation then aroused bringing about results that have affected even our own day. The cause of this awakening was the coming together again of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery.

Major William Bell, the last commander the company had chosen in 1774, summoned the surviving officers and members to Boston Common, the officers bearing their esponsos, with hangers slung at their belts and carrying fuses on their shoulders, the men with their firelocks, snapsacks, well-filled cartouch boxes, and each with "a worm and priming wire fit for his gun"; and once more were heard the well-known commands: "Poise firelocks; cock firelocks; take aim; fire!" etc.,\* once more the marchings and countermarchings were regularly performed. It did not seem a mere holiday parade. The men were not clad in "natty" uniforms, their accoutrements did not gleam with the brilliancy of newness, nor were their evolutions graceful. The fatigues of long and weary marches, the suffer-

\* The system of tactics prepared by Baron de Steuben, adopted by congress March 23, 1779, was certainly used by the company at this time, though statements to the contrary have been made.

ings of hunger and thirst, exposure to heat, cold, storms, had hardened their frames and stiffened their hands. The terrible winter at Valley Forge had been endured by some of them with a fortitude equaled only by their bravery in fighting an army as well drilled and well equipped as the world then could show. In themselves they were an epitome of what the whole country had undergone, and their pitiful number told its own story; for, of the one hundred and fifty "ancients" who had gone forth from Faneuil Hall to marshal their companies and offer their services to the great commander at the beginning of the war, but fifteen assembled to take part in the parade on that September day. Yet even this was encouraging and showed that company's career had not ended. The *Centinel* of 6th September, 1786, gives the following account of this affair:

"On Monday last, for the first time since the commencement of the late revolution, the ancient and honourable artillery company, commanded by Major Bell, paraded at the State House in this town, and, preceded by a band of musick, marched into the common, where they performed a number of military exercises—after which they marched to Faneuil-Hall, discharged a volley of small arms, and finished the day much to their honour, and the credit of the town. It was gratifying to the real friends of this country, to see our aged citizens, some of whom were near 70 years of age, equipped in the accoutrements of soldiers, and setting an example to the younger part of the community, that should their country require their aid in the field, they might be found ready disciplined, and fit for immediate service."

Major Bell, who had the honor of holding the office of commander for a longer period than it was ever held by any one else, was a typical Puritan, a deacon of the Brattle Street church, regarding his military and religious duties as equally solemn and momentous. Jealous of the privileges of his command, he resented the least infringement of its rights, adhered strictly to the earliest forms and ceremonies of the organization, and maintained in it a discipline of the severest and most rigid kind. Just before his retirement from office, he presented the company with the two espontoons that have been borne, ever since, by the two highest officers as the peculiar insignia of their rank, in place of the pikes and half-pikes in use up to that time. The major and his diminutive corps were called upon to take the lead in organizing military bands for the defense of Boston during what is known as Shays's insurrection, in October, 1786. The organization was quite effective, and no doubt was entertained as to what would have been the result had these bands been called to active service. But the insurrection was so quickly suppressed by the measures adopted by government that the assistance of the militia was not required.

The company began the third period of its existence—that which has lasted up to the present time—by admitting as a member, and at once

electing commander, Major-General John Brooks. The "ancients" regarded him with a just pride, for he was noted as soldier, physician, author, and his fame had begun when he drilled and equipped at Reading a band of minute men, "to assist in resisting the arbitrary measures of Great Britain." This was the eighth company that offered its services to the commonwealth—"the bloody eighth," it was called—"the first in and last out of battle." Though Brooks was not its first commander, its fame is identified with his name alone, for with this band he fought at Lexington, assisted in fortifying Breed's hill, and undertook the expedition to relieve Fort Stanwix; he commanded it at Saratoga and in other engagements, was made major after the fight at Lexington, and colonel before Monmouth, where he acted as adjutant-general; was inspector-general under Baron Steuben, and, amid the plots and conspiracies of the time, was always faithful to Washington. While a member of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery" he held several important positions under government, was one of the state committee that ratified the Constitution in 1788, inspector of the revenue, adjutant-general of the state, and finally its governor through several terms. In his efforts to improve the artillery company he was ably assisted by General Lincoln who succeeded him the next year as commander—that gallant soldier of the Revolution, who was commended by Washington in a letter to congress, and who was deputed to receive the sword of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Under such a leader as Brooks the company rapidly increased, and in a single year, by reason of the number of its members and their influence in both the political and social world, became a power in the commonwealth, leading to the formation of many bodies of militia in the various towns of the states—bodies whose officers were instructed in the art of war in this ancient "school of artillery." Since that time, despite financial reverses and many other obstacles to advancement, the career of the old corps has been progressive, and in many ways remarkable. Many of its members were in the war of 1812, and officered the companies of Massachusetts militia that took the lead in that sudden movement which garri-soned the New England seaboard towns in twenty-four hours, while the remaining portion of the company alone guarded Boston so effectively that it was well prepared to resist the threatened attack by sea. On its rolls are the names of men noted for their bravery in the Mexican war; and of those who were among the Massachusetts troops to shed the first blood in the great rebellion; of others who, as the struggle continued, "rushed to the front in defense of the Union and Constitution"—until one hundred and fifty had either fallen or were fighting in the ranks.

Meantime, while so many of its scattered members—graduates, they might be called—were winning glory in the wars, or renown in high civic positions, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was doing its work at "headquarters," observing its field-days, celebrating its anniversaries with more or less splendor, its fortunes varying with the changing times. During the first and second decades of the present century it experienced two periods of financial depression, caused partly, it is believed, by discussion as to who should and who should not become its members, and partly because its uniform was unlike that of the state militia organizations. So much, indeed, has been said and written anent this "uniform" that it has become an historic topic.

The first uniform consisted of a dark-blue coat and buff waistcoat. This gave place to a gorgeous costume of scarlet-and-gold—the long coat and knee-breeches, all of scarlet, ornamented with gold lace, the "scarlet silk stockings adorned with large gold clocks," the enormous cocked hat heavily weighted with gold lace, while buckles of silver gleamed from the shoes. Truly, the "ancients" of those days presented a dazzling spectacle! Nor did the next change detract greatly, if at all, from their showy appearance; for the orders (September 2, 1754), simply decree that in future the officers and men shall appear, on training-days, "in white silk hose"; but two years later the royal color gave way to blue—blue coats and gold-laced hats. Afterward (July 28, 1772) in order "to raise the spirit and reputation of the company, and keep up the honor they have so long sustained," it was decided to change to "blue coats and lapels, with yellow buttons, the cock of the hat to be uniform with the militia officers—wigs and hair to be clubbed." But this did not last, for one reads that shortly afterward the coats were of "white cloth," with blue lapels, trimmed with blue, with white linings; waistcoats and breeches of white linen, and a *cap* covered with white cloth, and trimmed with gold binding. This seems to have been regarded by some of the older and graver members as in rather questionable taste, for before two years had passed it was ordered (January 27, 1787), that the uniform should consist of "dark-blue cloth coats, faced with buff, shoulder-straps, plain yellow buttons; buff vest and breeches, with same buttons as on the coat; plain black hat with black buttons, loop and cockade; white linen spatterdashes to fasten under the foot, and come partly up the thigh, with black buttons, and black gaiters to buckle below the knee; white stocks; the hair to be queued; white ruffled shirts (*sic*) at wrist and bosom."

This was the uniform worn in 1810, when occurred the first of the two periods of depression to which reference has been made. But thirty-two

appeared in the ranks on the June field-day of that year, and a committee was appointed to devise means for inducing more of the officers of the militia to join the company. This committee advised that the uniform be changed to conform to that worn by the militia, so that those officers who wished to join would not be compelled to provide themselves with two outfits. The former array was laid aside entirely, and dark-blue coat substituted faced with red and lined with blue, with blue shoulder-straps, red-edged, "diamond on the skirts, and white convex buttons stamped with the arms of the state and the word Commonwealth"; waistcoat of white marseilles; white small-clothes, "with white metal buttons at the knees"; gaiters of "fine white linen, to come up to the knee-pan over the small-clothes, with black buttons, a black velvet knee-strap, with a white buckle"; the shoes were "to be short-quartered and tied"; the hat, a "*chapeau de bras*, ornamented with a fan-tail cockade, silver loop and button, and a full black plume,\* eighteen inches long"; while the hair was "to be braided and turned up, and the whole to wear powder on the anniversary"; a white stock was worn with this costume, though on "common field-days" it and the gaiters were black, and the hair was not powdered. A new stand of arms and a complete set of accoutrements were purchased at this time, the admission fee was increased, a donation of eight hundred dollars from the citizens of Boston replenished the treasury, and the officers of the militia, pleased with the concession in regard to the uniform, sent in their names at the next meeting, to the number of twenty, as candidates for membership.

Such exertions, however, beneficial as they seemed, did not free the organization from its financial embarrassments, and a few years later it petitioned the state for aid, which was denied. Its friends then came to the rescue. A subscription was started that soon reached the respectable figure of \$700, and difficulties were again adjusted.

In spite of many changes and divers "concessions" to the body of the state militia, the "uniform question" was still unsettled, and in June, 1820, a committee, which had been appointed "to enquire into the expediency of allowing such members as hold commissions to appear in the uniform of their rank and regiment," presented a report that was the subject of earnest and long-continued debate. This document clearly states the objects for which the company was formed, its privileges and duties, its relation to the militia organizations in the state, etc., and that the committee, having "unofficially conferred with some of the most influential

\* In 1819 the plume was changed to white, ten inches long, and on common field-days the commissioned officers were to wear military boots instead of gaiters.

members of the civil government of the state, and with many military officers who are not now members of the company, . . . are unanimously of the opinion" that "members of the company who hold, or have held, commissions in the militia, may appear in the uniform of their respective offices; provided that the commissioned officers of the company only shall be permitted to wear in it the insignia of their militia offices"; and, as there was a regulation prohibiting any person under twenty-one years of age from joining the corps, the committee recommended that "officers of the militia, though under the age of twenty-one years, be admitted into the company as members." Again and again attention was called to the fact that the organization was "a company of *officers*," hence it was urged that the "singularity of appearance" occasioned by so great a variety of uniforms ought to occasion no serious objection to the adopting of the report—nor did it, for the recommendation became a law in the autumn of the same year. This law is still in force, and accounts for the odd appearance of a certain portion of the company that, when on parade, so often causes expressions of surprise among those who know nothing of its history. *All* the members have not served in other military organizations, hence it is not difficult to understand the order, issued in 1841, that the "continental uniform" should be adopted for the infantry, "as the same appears in Washington's portrait in Faneuil Hall," nor the more recent regulation concerning the "left wing," that "the uniform of that portion of the company designated as artillery shall be a dark-blue cloth coat; style, full dress United States Navy, 1849, pants, same cloth as coat. Red piping one-eighth inch in size down outside seam, white gloves, and a *chapeau* bearing the insignia of the company, and a red plume." Referring to the report of the committee of 1820, it is to be noted that the adoption of it closed the last period of serious depression of the "ancients."

The privileges conferred on the company by its charter have been confirmed again and again by the insertion of special clauses in the militia laws of the commonwealth, and such only are lost as were voluntarily laid aside. By the terms of this charter, no other military organization is permitted to train or exercise in or around Boston on any of the field-days of the Artillery Company; but in 1657 the captain was empowered to "allow" other bodies to assemble and parade *with* his command. Still, it has never been admitted that the militia have a *right* to assemble on those days, and as late as 1808, when the company had met in Faneuil Hall, and word was brought that the "Winslow Blues" were coming together for drill, an order to disperse at once was sent to them, and was unhesitatingly obeyed. Of late years, however, this privilege has been suffered to lapse.

Certain officers of the militia, who at times have fancied themselves members of the ancient corps by reason of their position in the state troops, and have endeavored to enforce their claim to membership and to join the ranks on training-days, have found that their repulse by the company was invariably sustained by the law. Again, it chanced in 1748 that the magistrates had appointed a town meeting in Boston, to be held April 1st; but the records show that "the meeting was declared null and void, as being contrary to the Artillery charter"—April 1st being a "regular field-day." The company was also allowed to parade with two drums and two fifes, the militia having but one each; and by many little privileges and favors it has been distinguished with honor from all other organizations. At times discussions have arisen concerning the validity of certain rights and privileges claimed by the corps, but in general they have been unquestioned.

Most of the curious customs of the company pertain to the observance of field-days and anniversaries. In years gone by, each newly admitted member, before signing "the book," was obliged to procure two sureties, to be held responsible not only for his good conduct, but for all fines and assessments due from him. Indeed, the clerk was once instructed to call on the sureties of delinquent members and demand payment of their arrears; but the order was not enforced, and the custom is now obsolete.

As before stated, when the company was first organized, the training-days—or "field-days," as they came to be known—occurred once each month, but by the regulations of 1657 they were reduced to five each year; later, it was decreed there should be but two, the first Monday in October, and the first Monday in June. Anciently, the members were reminded of their duty, on the morning of each monthly field-day, by the playing of fifes and drums through Boston streets, and by the "colors, displayed at Major Henchman's corner"—State Street and Cornhill—where they were to be seen from early morning until the company was formed, when the lieutenant was sent, with an escort, to bring them on parade.\* After this fife-and-drum call was abolished, it was customary for the drummer to march down Middle street to Winnesimet Ferry, between the hours of eleven and one, beating "the troop" as he marched. When he arrived at the ferry he beat a "roll" three times, then went his way. This performance was known as the "first drum."

The men met at the old state house, their only armory (if it could be called such) for many years, and, weather proving unfavorable for out-door duty, they "drilled" on the lower floor of that now venerable building. But this "training in the town-house" was never popular, and the evolu-

\* This ceremony was "ordered" in 1743 and abolished in 1796.

tions were performed on the Common whenever practicable. At the beginning of the parade the "company book" was brought forward, from which the clerk called the roll, each member being "called by his title, of what class or description soever." On the pages of this book were inscribed all resolutions, laws, amendments, proposals for membership, etc., with the names of the bondsmen secured by those proposed; and in it, too, were recorded the proceedings of the day; for, prior to the Revolution, all records were made on a field-day—none at any other time. The marching was all in "slow time," though after the British soldiers were quartered in Boston, in 1768, "quick time" was adopted—it had been unknown before. "Common time" is a more recent innovation. The captain and lieutenant each bore, as a symbol of his office, a "pike"—a weapon consisting of a pointed, quadrangular blade of polished steel, eight or ten inches in length, affixed to a long shaft, the foot of which terminated in a heavy brass ferrule. These weapons were laid aside for esponsions when Major Bell was commander. Halberds were borne by sergeants, who never wore swords until the vote of October 4, 1790.

The state house will be remembered as the home of the company for many years after its formation; the lower portion was occupied by the company, while the colonial legislature held its sessions in the upper chambers. But when Peter Faneuil presented Boston with that famous building called by his name, the "ancients" were given certain rooms in it for an armory; and all the changes wrought in that venerable structure by fire, rebuilding, and addition, have not been able to dislodge them. To-day, "Upper Faneuil Hall" is known as the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Here is the large drill-room, its walls adorned with portraits of past commanders—some in military uniform, some in the garb formerly worn by members of the bar or by college professors, others in quaint colonial costumes—while among them may be noticed many beautifully illuminated manuscript "resolutions" and "memorials" sent to the company on various occasions by its illustrious progenitor, the Honourable Artillery of London. Here, also, are stands of the company's "colors" of different periods, the most ancient of them, its faded surface bearing the date 1663, being the oldest military standard in the United States. These "colors" deserve a brief explanation: first, the colonial flag, quartered blue and white, bearing on its white quarters the red cross of St. George, was changed at the beginning of the Revolution, a pine tree taking the place of the cross. When the state of Massachusetts sprang into being, a white banner was adopted, on one side of which the armorial bearings of the new state were emblazoned, on the other those

of the United States. The next change was made when Boston became a city, at which time the armorial bearings of the nation gave place to the heraldic devices of the municipal government, the state emblems being retained; while a new banner, the "stars and stripes" itself, was borne alongside the ancient ensign to attest the patriotism and loyalty of the corps. The present colors consist of the national banner ornamented with the full name of the company, and a white flag, on one side of which is emblazoned the state arms, on the other a full-length figure of an officer of the Revolutionary army bearing aloft the old pine-tree flag, with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven." The illustrations will serve, better than any written explanation, to give a clear idea of these beautiful standards. Adjoining the drill-room are several smaller apartments for the use of officers, committee meetings, the storage of arms and equipments, etc., and, most important of all, the museum, which is the treasure-room of the organization, and its steadily increasing collections are of great value. Here are rare books of colonial time pertaining to military affairs, manuals, public documents, war-songs, music, etc.; histories, published regulations, and various pamphlets concerning the Honourable Artillery of London, together with portraits and autographs of the Prince of Wales, its present commander; maps and plans of many American battle-fields; portraits and autographs of nearly all past officers of the company; swords worn by certain of its commanders in the war of 1812, the Mexican war, the civil war, their dimmed appearance serving as a foil to the splendid presentation swords with which so many distinguished members of the organization have been honored; and a large collection of pictures of army life, badges and jewels of various kinds, implements of war, personal belongings, relics, *curios*, etc., to which no reference can here be made. But one object must be mentioned, and that is the old punch-bowl, so dear to every "ancient," and so prominent a feature of all anniversary banquets. Its history is romantic, as punch-bowl histories go, and is to the effect that Captain Ephraim Prescott, while in China, about 1795, procured this ten-gallon bowl as a present to his comrades-in-arms; but the captain died on his homeward voyage, the bowl fell into strange hands, and the Ancient and Honorable knew nothing of its good fortune until thirty years later, when the Hon. Jonathan Hunnewell ascertained the whereabouts of the wandering piece of crockery, bought it for the paltry sum of fifteen dollars, and presented it to the company.

While the October field-day is celebrated with more or less pomp, and has the ceremony of a formal dinner, etc., pertaining to it, the great event of the year is the June field-day, commonly called the "anniversary."

And it is a remarkable fact that the ceremonies incident to the celebration of it have varied little since the first decade of the company's existence. At sunrise, on the morning of this high festival, the drummers and fifers sound the *reveille* in front of the residences of each of the commissioned officers and past commanders that are "within a reasonable distance of the armory," and a little before nine o'clock the entire corps assemble at the armory, in full uniform, march \* to the state house, receive the governor and invited guests, and escort them to the church to listen to the "annual sermon." Though the sermon was preached but twice before 1654, it has not been omitted since that time. The clergyman who preaches this "annual" becomes chaplain of the company for the ensuing year, and surely no military organization in the world can boast of so illustrious an army of chaplains as can this one. The Cottons, Mathers, Eliots, of the olden time, and nearly all of those whose names are noted in the theological annals of New England, besides many eminent clergymen from New York, are in it. After the sermon, a grand banquet is served in Faneuil Hall, at which the commander officiates—the governor of Massachusetts with the adjutant-general on his right, on his left the mayor of Boston and the president of Harvard college. The various tables are presided over by officers of the corps, and there are generally thirteen "toasts," and as many responses. At 4.30 P.M. the company re-forms and marches to the common, where, as the governor enters attended by his escort, an artillery salute of seventeen guns is fired in his honor. Then, seated under a pavilion, his excellency reviews the company, superintends the election of officers for the ensuing year—the ballots being deposited by the men upon the head of a drum, about which they are ranged in the form of a hollow square—receives the insignia of the retiring officers, bestows the same, with suitable remarks, on those just elected, and finally is escorted to the state house with great pomp, after which the company marches back to Faneuil Hall, and the affair is over. But it must be borne in mind that the giving up of the official insignia by the retiring officers and the installation of the newly elected are accompanied by a series of military evolutions which, with the great variety of richly decorated uniforms, music, the gleam of the antique halberds and pikes, and the crowds of invited guests and spectators, produces a unique impression—one not easily forgotten by those who witness the spectacle.

Of late years the company has taken part in many "celebrations" of

\* The company still retains its old organization as a company of infantry, commanded by a captain and first and second lieutenants; but really parades as a battalion having an adjutant, and sometimes as many as twelve companies, all commanded by sergeants.

note, has paid visits to the militia of New England and New York, and has entertained bodies of militia from various states. It participated in the centennial celebrations of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Daniel Webster, at Marshfield, and the affair that signalized the completion of the great Washington monument. In the summer of 1873 it inaugurated a reunion of all the "ancient" military organizations of New England; it has visited the Amoskeag veterans of Manchester, New Hampshire, the militia companies of Concord, Worcester, Lowell, New Bedford, Hartford, and other towns, has entertained the Continental Guards of New Orleans twice, as well as the Old Guard of New York, and other companies, and has exchanged visits of courtesy with the Honourable Artillery Company of London.

In spite of the wars between the United States and England, a very friendly sentiment has always existed between the oldest military organizations of these two countries. This feeling first received official expression in 1857, when, at the instance of Commander-Colonel Marshall P. Wilder, the captain-general and colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company of London was made an honorary member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. The captain-general at that time was H.R.H. Prince Albert—the Prince Consort—and in the correspondence that preceded and followed his election to membership in the American company, he spoke in high terms of the "offspring" of the organization he commanded, and presented to Colonel Wilder a copy of Highmore's history of the London corps. When the Prince of Wales, who is now commander of the London company, was in Boston, in 1860, he held a long conversation with Colonel Wilder concerning the relations of the two organizations to each other; and in 1878, when he too was made an honorary member of the American company, he expressed as much gratification as did his illustrious father.

The London company has striven to reciprocate all the courtesies of its "offspring"; for, besides official communications of a complimentary character, portraits and autographs of commanders, resolutions, such as the beautiful tribute of respect paid to the memory of President Garfield, that have from time to time been sent from over sea to the armory in Faneuil Hall, it has welcomed and entertained in a truly royal manner such members of the American company as have visited their "mother." Colonel Wilder was tendered a complimentary review of the Honourable Artillery in 1867,\* and, when Lieutenant Edward Everett

\* He could not accept, however, on account of previous engagements.

Allen was present in London at the annual banquet in 1882, no toast of the evening was so enthusiastically applauded as that "To the health of our only child—the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston."

The events of the year 1887-'88, more than any that preceded them, tended to strengthen the friendly feeling so long subsisting between these organizations. The anniversary of June, 1887—at which Colonel Henry Walker, of Boston, was chosen commander—was hardly over before a delegation of members, with the newly-elected commander at its head, sailed for London to assist the Honourable Artillery Company in celebrating its three hundred and fiftieth birthday. Judging from the past, it was expected the delegates would be kindly received, but the warm-hearted brotherly welcome was a surprise to all. Every possible attention was shown the American guests, and during the parades, reviews, etc., they were assigned the place of honor just behind the Duke of Portland,\* and at the grand banquet, given in the evening in the "great hall" of the armory, Colonel Walker and Minister Phelps occupied the seats of honor, the duke presiding. This was an occasion not likely to be forgotten. More than one thousand persons were present, and whatever fascination is found in the splendor of costly decorations, countless lights, flashing jewels, or whatever charms in the meeting of persons of noble birth and high-sounding titles was not wanting to make this banquet an affair of rare brilliancy. The regular toasts were: "The Queen," "The President of the United States," Mr. Phelps responding, being most heartily cheered, "The Prince of Wales," "The Royal Family," etc., and then came "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston." Colonel Walker responded in a speech that, often interrupted by applause, was received in a memorable manner, for "the entire assemblage rose to their feet, cheered again and again, and waved handkerchiefs, and in every way demonstrated their delight and approval."

The reception given Colonel Walker by the Prince of Wales, the many courtesies shown the American delegation by the Honourable Artillery Company of London, and the memorials presented by the Duke of Portland to the commander, must be left for other pens to describe. Nor can a full account be given here of the home-coming of the delegation, the reception tendered them on their arrival in Boston, the parades, speeches, etc.; the trip to Montreal in October—when the entire company stood for the first time on foreign soil—where the city government and the militia

\* The duke is lieutenant-colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company. The captain-general, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was unable to be present.

entertained them with reception, feast, speeches, drives, etc., being banqueted in return by the honored, happy "ancients."

The memorable anniversary of 1888 was the two hundred and fiftieth birthday of the company, and was by far the most splendid celebration it ever attempted. The Honourable Artillery of London, not to be outdone by its "child" in acts of courtesy, sent a delegation of officers and privates to assist at this joyous affair, and surely no foreign embassy was ever more warmly welcomed or better entertained. Met, in New York harbor, by a revenue cutter bearing Colonel Walker and a committee of the "ancients," they were soon taken to a "spread" at the Windsor Hotel, after which, comfortably arranged in a "special," they were whirled away to Niagara. The following days were eventful ones to the English visitors, who were escorted to Washington, where a reception by the president was added to the many courtesies extended them by various members of congress; Mount Vernon and Arlington were visited; also Gettysburg, where they followed the changing positions held by the contending armies during that terrible three days' battle; and West Point, where they saw all that could be seen in the short time allowed them there; in New York, the Old Guard joined them as guests of the "ancients"; and thence to Boston. In startling head-lines, the *Boston Herald* announced, the next day: "The British capture Boston, aided by troops from New York. They enter the city this morning, and meet a fusillade of greetings." Indeed, the entire business portion of the city was decorated with British and American flags, standards of the two companies, mottoes, dates, etc., each relating to the event of the day or expressing some happy international sentiment. Thus the great "anniversary" began; thus, too, the British soldiery, returning after many years, again entered Boston.

On the evening of Saturday, June 2, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company gave a reception to its guests in the Music Hall—a most extraordinary affair, at which the British delegation was the centre of attraction and the Old Guard by no means lost to sight, though representatives from almost every military organization in New England crowded the floor, while members of the Albany and Troy "corps" gave additional variety to a gathering sanctioned by the presence of the governor of the state and the mayor and council of Boston. Then came a quiet Sunday, followed by the "anniversary," held, as always, "on the first Monday in June." All the time-honored customs were carefully observed: the morning *reveille*, the gathering of the company at Faneuil Hall, the march to the state house to meet the governor and invited guests, the services at New Old South church—where the Rev. Phillips Brooks preached a

sermon memorable for its eloquence and power—and lastly the banquet. Never did Faneuil Hall look more beautiful; seldom, if ever, has it contained a more brilliant assemblage. The governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, members of congress, officers of the army and navy, veterans of the rebellion, representatives of the militia of New England, New York, and Montreal—Canada being especially represented by Lieutenant-General Sir F. Middleton of Ottawa—together with the mayor and council of Boston, the president of Harvard university, eminent clergymen, journalists, and the especial guests so often mentioned—the Old Guard of New York, and the delegation of the Honourable Artillery Company of London—produced an impression never to be forgotten by those present. The beauty of the various uniforms and elaborate decorations, the excellence of the “substantial” portion of the banquet, were, however, but a prelude to eloquent addresses: the whole being a fitting close to a historic year—a year that Commander-Colonel Walker justly called “the most eventful one in the company’s life,” a year that will be noted always as the one in which much was done by this organization to unite more closely than ever the two great divisions of the English-speaking people. After the banquet the usual exercises were held on the Common, the governor receiving the insignia of office from the retiring officers and commissioning those newly elected. The new commander chosen was Henry E. Smith of Worcester.

The question is sometimes asked, why is this ancient organization still kept up? It is no longer a school of instruction for officers of the state militia, and its whole character has changed since its original projection. Yet, as long as men care to keep alive the traditions and influence of those whom we justly call “the fathers” of our nation, so long as their hearts glow with something more than pride in their country, and they care to perpetuate sentiments of loyalty, devotion, and honor, to strengthen ties that already bind together the nations, so long will they realize that the mission of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company has not ended, and that its right to exist is as unquestioned as when it fired the funeral volley over the grave of that governor by the stroke of whose pen it was called into being.

*C. E. Dray.*

## GEORGIA AND THE CONSTITUTION

The recent centennial anniversary of the meeting of the first congress and the inauguration of the first President of the Union under the Constitution, fills the thoughtful mind with interesting reflections and reminiscences touching that immortal instrument.

When the men who framed it met in convention in Philadelphia, in May, 1787, one of them—James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence—said: "When I consider the amazing extent of country, the immense population which is to fill it, the influence which the government we are to form will have, not only on the present generation of our people and their multiplied posterity, but on the whole globe, I am lost in the magnitude of the object." "In the closing hours of the convention," says Mr. Bancroft, "the members were awe-struck at the result of their councils; the Constitution was a nobler work than any one of them believed possible to devise; and Washington, at an early hour of the evening, retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed." Fifty years later De Tocqueville, the French statesman, and the most eminent political writer of the century, said: "This Constitution rests upon a wholly novel theory, which may be considered as a great discovery in modern political science." Lord Brougham declared it to be "the very greatest refinement in social policy to which any state of circumstances has ever given rise, or to which any age has ever given birth"; and a hundred years after its creation, Gladstone, the greatest living statesman of England, said: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

It is to Georgia's potential agency in giving life to and shaping that Constitution, that I would now call attention.

Perhaps the most impressive and important episode in the state's career recalled by the historical retrospect induced by the occasion, is the one that is now least generally known; and yet, at the time of its occurrence, it absorbed the attention of the entire Union, for in its issue was involved the preservation of that state sovereignty without which the Union could not have had existence nor been perpetuated. It was in the year 1792, just five years after the formation of the Constitution, and a little more than three years after it went into operation, when Washington was President, and Edward Telfair was governor of Georgia, that a suit

was brought in the United States Supreme Court against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina named Chisholm, for a sum of money alleged to be due to him from the state. The state, through her official agents, the governor and attorney-general, was duly notified of the suit, and served with summons to appear before the court and make answer to the claim against her. Taking the position that a sovereign state, which she claimed to be, could not, by the federal Constitution, be sued by a citizen of another state, Georgia refused to obey the summons. Whereupon the attorney-general of the United States, as counsel for the plaintiff, moved that, unless Georgia appeared at the next term of the court, judgment should be entered against her by default, and a writ of inquiry of damages awarded. Due notice was given the state of this motion, the consideration of which, however, was postponed by the court till the next term, that the state might have time to deliberate on the course she would take. Georgia paid no more attention to this notice than she had to the first one. Still standing upon her rights and immunities as a sovereign state, she asserted that the United States government had no judicial power over such a case, and, simply entering a written protest to that effect, without deigning to recognize the jurisdiction of the court even so far as to enter into an argument of the matter, she refused to appear at the next term; and thus was the first great constitutional question brought before the supreme judicial tribunal of the government for decision—the question of a broad construction or a strict construction of the powers conferred upon the government by the states through the Constitution—the question of state sovereignty and state rights—the question upon which the convention that framed the Constitution would, in all probability, have split irremediably in two *but for the opportune patriotic action of a Georgia delegate in that convention*. That body, as is well known to those familiar with its history, was divided into two parties, the nationals and the federals. The federals were those who were in favor of forming a strictly federal government which would preserve unimpaired the rights, equality, and separate sovereignty of the states; while the nationals contended for a government more national than federal—a centralized, consolidated government, in which the idea of states should be almost annihilated. From an incorrect political nomenclature, which has been permitted to take historical root so long that it is not likely ever to be eradicated from the public mind, the nationals, or consolidationists, of that convention—Hamilton, Madison, Randolph, Morris, Wilson, and their allies and followers—are commonly said and believed to have been the federalist leaders in it. The very reverse of this is true. They contended

most strenuously against the federal state-sovereignty idea. They wanted, as was expressly declared by Mr. Randolph, "a *consolidated Union*, in which the idea of states should be nearly annihilated."

The federals finally succeeded in having the state-sovereignty principle incorporated in the Constitution, and this secured their adhesion to it. But afterward, when the Supreme Court was organized, and they saw that the judges were nearly all nationals, they feared that, under color of its power to construe the Constitution, that court would, by a broad construction of its power, attempt to extinguish the great vital principle of the Union, which they had so hardly saved from annihilation at the hands of the nationals in the convention. They had not long to wait for proof that their fears were well founded. The court had been in existence but three years when the apprehended attempt was made by commanding the sovereign state of Georgia to appear before it on a level with a private individual, a citizen of another state, and defend herself against a prosecution by that individual. Georgia, as we have seen, refused to obey the command. The command was repeated, and so was the refusal. Then the Supreme Court issued its ultimatum "that, unless the state of Georgia shall either in due form appear, or show cause to the contrary in this court, by the first day of next term, judgment by default shall be entered against the said state." The next term came, but Georgia defied the power of the court, and came not with it. The court then rendered judgment against her and awarded a writ of inquiry. By this time there was much excitement in the public mind throughout the Union over the situation. The decision of the court was regarded as a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the states and a breach of the conditions upon which the Union was formed, and it would have certainly ended in the destruction of the government had not congress at this juncture proposed an amendment of the Constitution, declaring in explicit terms that "the judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state." The amendment was speedily adopted, and the Supreme Court then unanimously decided that the case against Georgia could be no further prosecuted, and it was swept at once from the records of the court. Such is the history of the way in which the eleventh amendment came to be adopted.

The Supreme Court at that time was presided over by John Jay, of New York, chief justice; with William Cushing, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; John Blair, of Virginia; James Iredell, of North

Carolina; and Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, associate justices. Jay, Wilson, and Iredell were unquestionably the ablest of the number, and of these three, Jay, on account of his longer public career and the exalted positions he had held, was the most distinguished, and Wilson the most erudite. Of Iredell, it is enough to say that North Carolina never had a brighter exemplar of that wisdom and integrity, and that simple dignity and modesty, so characteristic of the illustrious men of that state. In the great case of which I write, he was the only judge who upheld the constitutional right asserted by Georgia, and it is impossible to arise from the reading of his dissenting opinion without being convinced that, as a constitutional lawyer, he had no equal on the bench. The soundness of that opinion was attested by the subsequent overthrow of the judgment of the court by the eleventh amendment. Chief Justice Jay's opinion in this case was by far the most elaborate ever delivered by him while on the bench. That of Judge Wilson is a striking display of the wide range of his erudition. The momentous nature of the question under consideration was stated by him in the following words: "This is a case of uncommon magnitude. One of the parties to it is a state, certainly respectable, claiming to be sovereign. The question to be determined is, whether this state, so respectable, and whose claim soars so high, is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. This question, important in itself, may depend on others more important still, and may, perhaps, be ultimately resolved into one no less radical than this, 'Do the people of the United States form a nation?'"

Profoundly impressed with a sense of the consequences which he foresaw would flow from the doctrine of his associates on the bench, Judge Iredell, in closing his dissenting opinion, said: "I pray to God that, if this doctrine as to the law be established by the judgment of this court, all the good predicted from it may take place, and none of the evils with which, I have the concern to say, it appears to me to be pregnant." Nothing but the amendment compelled by Georgia's unyielding attitude averted the evils which this great judge so feared.

To the mind of the student of those times one remarkable fact must occur in connection with this decision of the Supreme Court. When the Constitution had been framed, and was submitted to the states for that approval from them which was necessary to put it in operation, it was so strongly opposed in some of the states as to make the required ratification doubtful. The opposition to it was based chiefly on the alleged ground that it made the United States government too strong and left the state governments too weak; that it took from the states the sovereignty which

was theirs and ought to remain theirs, and conferred it on the United States, making of the latter a consolidated *national* government, which would, sooner or later, "annihilate" the states, instead of making them that *federal* government which was the avowed object of the convention that framed the Constitution. "It squints towards a monarchy," said Patrick Henry. "The government established by the Constitution will surely end either in monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy," said Mason, of Virginia.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, who were leaders of the national party, accepted the Constitution as a compromise between the nationals and the federals (state-rights men) of the convention, and they advocated its adoption because, as Mr. Jay said, they thought it "improbable that a better plan could be obtained." To answer the objections, dispel the fears, and win for it the votes of those who thought the states were left too powerless by the proposed plan of government, they wrote in conjunction a series of papers in which they vindicated it from the charge of despoiling the states of their rights or sovereignty. These writings exercised a powerful influence on the public mind. They were published in the newspapers of the day, and subsequently in the form of a book called the *Federalist*, of which Chancellor Kent said: "I know not of any work on the principles of free government that is to be compared in instruction and intrinsic value to this small and unpretending volume." This book was then, and is still, regarded as the ablest contribution to American political science.

One of the specific suggestions urged against the Constitution was that it would, if adopted, place the states in a situation where any one of them might be subjected to prosecution by the citizens of another. To this the *Federalist* replied that the danger intimated was "merely ideal," and that there was "*no colour* to pretend that the state governments would, by the adoption of the Constitution, be divested of the privilege of paying their own debts in their own way, free from every constraint but that which flows from the obligations of good faith." "To what purpose," it added, "would it be to authorize suits against states for the debts they owe? How could recoveries be enforced? It is evident that it could not be done *without waging war against the contracting state*; and to ascribe to the federal courts, by mere implication, and in destruction of a pre-existing right of the state governments, a power which would involve such a consequence would be *altogether forced and unwarrantable*."

That not more than five years had elapsed, after the penning of these words, when this power was assumed by a court presided over by one of the authors of the *Federalist*, is what, I say, must strike the reader as remarkable.

Those who are familiar with the case, and who have also read the *Memoirs* of the late Associate-Justice Curtis, of the United States Supreme Court, must have been surprised when they read that learned judge's reference to the "very able opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Chisholm* against Georgia." It is indeed surprising that Judge Curtis committed such an anachronism in a paper prepared with so much elaborateness and reviewed with so much care as the one in which this reference is made. It was nearly ten years after the case cited before Chief Justice Marshall went upon the Supreme Court bench.

I have said that the federal convention would, in all human probability, have been rent irreparably in twain before the accomplishment of its high mission but for the opportune patriotic action of one of the delegates from Georgia. History shows this to be true. The threatening contest in the convention turned on the rule by which the states should be represented and vote in the government; the smaller states insisting on the rule of equality in all respects; the larger (or national states), on the rule of proportion to inhabitants. It was during this contest, and in view of the disastrous consequences it foreboded, that Benjamin Franklin made his memorable motion for prayer. Addressing himself to Washington, the president of the convention, he said: "In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings?"

The national states carried their point as to the house of representatives, the smaller states yielding to the proportional rule, or national principle, as to that branch of congress; that is, that the votes of each state in that branch should be in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. They yielded that point, hoping that by doing so, they would secure a *compromise* that would establish the federal or state-rights principle in the second branch or senate, allowing each state an equal vote in that branch. "For," said Mr. Ellsworth, the federal leader, "if no compromise should take place, the meeting would be not only vain, but worse than vain." But the nationals pushed forward for establishing the proportional rule in the senate also, and to this the federals declared their inflexible resolve never to consent. This, then—the rule of representation in the senate—was the Gordian knot of the convention, the Scylla and the Charybdis against and around the perilous edges of which it dashed and whirled again and again, till it well-nigh went to pieces. The nationals were persistent, the smaller states were immovable, and the abrupt and speedy ending of all

negotiations between them seemed inevitable. "You *must* give each state an equal suffrage, or our business is at an end," exclaimed Luther Martin, who was a delegate from Maryland. The hour of the convention's dissolution appeared indeed to be at hand. Martin, speaking of it afterward, said it seemed "scarce held together by the strength of a hair." On Monday, the 2d of July, five weeks after the meeting of the convention, the decisive moment came, when Mr. Ellsworth moved to establish the rule "that each state be allowed an equal vote in the senate." Unless there should be found one national state patriotic and wise enough to be willing to compromise, there would be no Union. A historian of the occasion says: "It was a critical moment in the history of the country. On the change of a single vote the most stupendous issues were suspended." "On the motion of Ellsworth," says Mr. Bancroft, "five states voted for equal suffrage in the senate; five of the six national states answered, 'no.' All interest then centred on GEORGIA, the sixth national state, and the last to vote. Baldwin, fearing a disruption of the convention, and convinced of the hopelessness of assembling another under better auspices, dissented from his colleague, and divided the vote of his state." This led to the compromise which resulted in the formation of the American Constitution and the Union of the states.

There they are together: Baldwin's dissenting vote, and Iredell's dissenting opinion. Let them live, with the Constitution and the Union, in the hearts of men through all succeeding ages!

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

*J. K. Oglesby.*

## THE LAST TWELVE DAYS OF MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ

The treason and flight of Arnold and the apprehension and execution of André constituted a startling episode in the history of the Revolutionary War.

Arnold had endured hardship and manifested heroism and fortitude in the cause of his country which had secured him the confidence and support of the commander-in-chief of the American forces. André was a young man of taste and refinement, proud and ambitious, seeking military advancement and renown, and in the full enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his military chief. An unfortunate affair of love increased the romance which clustered round his career, and the fate that overtook him annexed a pathos to his story, which seems ever interesting and ever new.

It is the object of this paper to chronicle some interesting facts and incidents which have escaped the attention of historians, and especially to trace the movements of André during the eventful twelve days preceding his death, and to describe the exact route and roads over which he traveled, the houses and places which he visited, and the conversations he engaged in with different people, so far as they have been handed down. That history has never been written. The efforts of the historians who have undertaken to cover the ground in outline have fallen far below their aim. Their accounts are entirely wanting in precision and accuracy, and, in many instances, they are misleading and erroneous. The materials which form the basis of this paper have been gathered from all available sources, and their collection has been the work of years. The writer has passed personally over most of the roads traveled by André in Westchester and Putnam counties, and some of those in the county of Rockland. So far as the names of persons and places are given they are strictly accurate, and all the facts stated have been verified and found correct, and authority and evidence sustain every statement.

Arnold had conducted a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for eighteen months without disclosing his name; but, when he obtained the command of West Point and its environments, his identity remained no longer in doubt. Under the disguise of mercantile language he disclosed his willingness to negotiate for a sale, and requested a personal interview for the arrangement of the terms and conditions.

André, who had been selected by Sir Henry Clinton to conduct such

negotiations for him, was in New York city on the nineteenth day of September, 1780. He made a visit on that day to Madame de Riedesel, at the Beekman mansion, in company with Sir Henry Clinton, and the evening was passed at the Kip mansion, at a dinner given by Colonel Williams to Clinton and his staff, as a parting compliment to Major André.

During the day of the nineteenth Sir Henry Clinton received a letter from Arnold directed to Colonel Beverly Robinson, in which he said he would send a person to Dobb's Ferry or on board the war-sloop *Vulture*, then lying above Teller's Point, on the night of the twentieth, who would be furnished with a boat and flag of truce, and whose secrecy might be relied upon.

Before that and on the fifteenth, the day on which his wife reached his headquarters at the Robinson house, Arnold had written a letter to André under the name of John Anderson, in which he said, "I will send a person, in whom you may confide, to meet you at Dobb's Ferry, at the landing on the east side, on Wednesday, the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, who will conduct you to a place of safety, where I will meet you . . . meet me if possible—you may rest assured that, if there is no danger in passing your lines, you will be perfectly safe where I propose a meeting, of which you shall be informed on Wednesday evening, if you think proper to be at Dobb's Ferry." A copy of this last letter was inclosed in the letter to Colonel Robinson, received by Clinton. Acting upon the information contained in these letters, Major André started the next day, the 20th of September, and went to Dobb's Ferry, on the Westchester side. He probably went by land. The roads pursued by him have not been specified, but he doubtless passed out of the city over King's bridge, and along the post road through Yonkers to Dobb's Ferry. Finding no person there to meet him, and the tide being at the flood, André proceeded by a sail-boat to the British sloop of war *Vulture*, which was then lying in Haverstraw bay, above Teller's Point, at least sixteen miles distant, and reached that vessel at seven o'clock in the evening. He found Colonel Beverly Robinson on board. André remained on the *Vulture* that night, in the expectation that General Arnold would meet him there or send a person for him, pursuant to the appointment contained in his last letter, as he had failed to send a person to Dobb's Ferry.

In the early part of the next day Arnold went from his headquarters at the Robinson House to Verplanck's Point, and from thence to the house of Joshua Hett Smith, on the other side of the river. When he crossed over to Stony Point, he dispatched an officer in his own barge up the river to Peekskill Creek, and thence up Canopus Creek to Continental Village,

with orders to bring down a row-boat from that place, and directed Major Kierse, the quartermaster at Stony Point, to send the boat, the moment it should arrive, to a certain place in Haverstraw Creek (now called Mine-secongo Creek), which I assume to have been Colonel Hays's dock. He also directed Major Kierse to notify him of its arrival.

The boat was towed down by the barge and stationed at the place indicated, and Major Kierse sent a letter to Arnold at Smith's house notifying him that the boat was in the place designated. The messenger bearing the letter was met by one dispatched by Arnold to ascertain whether the boat had arrived, who carried the letter of Kierse to Arnold at Smith's house. After receiving intelligence of the arrival of the boat, Arnold induced Samuel and Joseph Colquhoun, two of Smith's tenants, by persuasive and coercive language, to row Smith in the boat to the *Vulture* that night, and directed them to muffle their oars with sheepskin. There was an old lane leading from Smith's house to Colonel Hays's landing, through which they doubtless passed to reach the boat. It was near midnight when they left. The night was serene and pleasant, the tide was on the outflow, and the water was unruffled except by the slight current of the tide, and they passed to the *Vulture* without incident or interruption. On approaching the vessel they were assailed with a volley of oaths, and commanded to haul alongside. They did so, and Smith proceeded to the deck of the vessel. The two watermen remained in the boat. The noise on the deck was heard below, and a ship boy came on deck with orders from the captain that the man should be shown into the cabin. Descending to the captain's cabin, Smith met his old friend Colonel Robinson, in full uniform, ready to receive him. Robinson was very cordial, and Smith delivered to him a letter from Arnold dated September 21, 1780, in which he said: "This will be delivered to you by Mr. Smith, who will conduct you to a place of safety." Robinson read the letter, introduced Smith to the captain, who was in bed, and, ordering some refreshments, left the room after an apology for so doing.

Robinson proceeded to André, who was in his berth, and the two pondered over Arnold's letter. Robinson refused to leave the vessel and advised André not to do so; but André hurried from his bed and was anxious to go. Robinson was absent about twenty minutes when he returned with André, whom he introduced to Smith as John Anderson. Anderson seemed to be ready to leave the vessel, and did so in the boat with Smith, and was rowed to a point designated by Arnold.

This precise spot was recently located by Lavalett Wilson, the principal of the Haverstraw Mountain institute, who prepared a map representing

the locality, to accompany an article on the subject published in the *Magazine of American History*, February, 1885.

The landing was made at a dock used as a shipping-place for wood and stone. A portion of this dock still remains. There is an old stone house three hundred feet north of the dock, and an abandoned stone quarry north of the house, and the landing-place is therefore easily found.

There was a road leading up from the dock to the Long Clove road, and traces of that old disused way are yet distinctly visible.

Upon that way below the Long Clove road there is a small plateau, comparatively level, encircled by firs, where the interview between Arnold and André probably took place.

Arnold doubtless went down the Long Clove road to the path, or way, leading down the hill to the dock, and, leaving his horse there in charge of the negro servant, he walked down the path and hid himself among the evergreens.

The writer was thrilled with emotion as he stood upon the precise spot where the commercial Gustavus met his secret correspondent, John Anderson, in the darkness of midnight, to sell out his post, betray his trust, and consummate his crime.

Upon reaching the dock, Anderson was left with the boatmen, while Smith proceeded up the bank in pursuit of Arnold. Before Smith left his house that night to take the boat with the watermen, Arnold had appointed that place for the interview, and arranged to proceed there on horseback, accompanied by the servant of Smith, who also rode another horse. Smith in his narrative says: "On my approach to the place of appointment, I found General Arnold ready to receive me. He was *hid among the firs*. I mentioned to him Colonel Beverly Robinson's reason for not accompanying me, and the delegation of a young gentleman, a Mr. Anderson, who I had brought with me, and who was then with the watermen on the strand. He appeared much agitated, and expressed chagrin at the disappointment of not seeing Colonel Robinson. He desired me, however, to conduct Anderson to him, which being done he requested me to remain with the hands at the boat."

The length of the conference between Arnold and Anderson was such that Smith became alarmed as he discovered the approaching signs of day, and notified them to that effect.

Arnold then mounted his horse, Anderson mounted the horse rode by the servant, and both started for the house of Smith, which was about six miles distant. They rode north on the Long Clove road to the village of Haverstraw, where they were hailed by a sentinel, whom they passed, and



## A BOSTON WRITING-SCHOOL BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

My text is an old copy-book bearing the date 1767-'68, which has been handed along through the generations from a writing-school on Boston Common, containing among other names those of Abiah Holbrook, William Molineaux, John Fenno, and Joseph Ward, the last named being the owner of the copy-book.

This school was established by the town in 1717, and at the above date Abiah Holbrook was the master, and John Lord was in charge of the South Grammar School. The building stood on the border of the Common, at the present line of Mason street, and the gun-house was close by, separated by a fence with a gate, which before the war was occupied by Captain Paddock's train band. The guns would have fallen into the hands of the British but for the aid of the patriotic teachers and students of the school. Watching their opportunity one day, while the troops were on the opposite side from the school-house at roll-call, Schoolmaster Holbrook, with Gore, Story, and one or two others, quickly removed the guns across the yard, and concealed them in the capacious wood-box of the school-room. When a search was instituted, the master, who was lame, kept his leg resting upon the wood-box, and the soldiers quickly left the bare room. These guns were shortly removed to a wood-yard on the Neck, and subsequently came into possession of the provincial troops, did good service, received the names Hancock and Adams, and now rest in peace in the chamber of Bunker Hill monument.

The old copy-book contains the following petition of Schoolmaster Holbrook:

"To the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of Boston:

The Petition of Abiah Holbrook, Writing Master, humbly sheweth; That your petitioner, Master of the South Writing School, has now under his care Two Hundred and sixty Town children, which number he has had constantly the year round for many years past and sometimes near three hundred, which has obliged your Petitioner, at his own expense, to procure more help than the town allows him, otherwise a considerable number of the Youth must have been turned off, without any instruction. All this has your Petitioner done without asking the Town one Penny consideration.

That your Petitioner's salary which is his principal support has been for the most part unpaid for several years together, and at the same time your Petitioner has been obliged for several years successively to pay back one Quarter Part of his salary in Taxes yearly When others in the same service have so much Favour shown them as to pay no taxes at

all.—Your Petitioner has with great Difficulty taken care of the Youth committed to his charge ever since his Usher and the other Assistant left him which was in October 1764. That your Petitioner now has only a lad whom he has taken to bring up for the service of the town as an Assistant whose salary is fixed at £40. per annum, which your Petitioner finds is not adequate for so arduous and difficult a task.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that the Town would be pleased to take the Premises into Consideration and grant your Petitioner some relief in regard to his taxes and for the Lad above mentioned an Equal Salary with the Usher of the other public Writing School in Town ; Or otherwise grant your Petitioner such Relief and Encouragement as the Town in their Wisdom shall think most equitable, that he may thereby be enabled with Fidelity, Cheerfulness and Success further to serve the Town. And your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray &c.

ABIAH HOLBROOK.

BOSTON, *February 26th*, 1767."

At the town meeting, March 16, 1767, the petition of Abiah Holbrook was read—whereupon it was voted that "Mr. Samuel Adams, Hon<sup>ble</sup> Royal Tylor, Esq., Mr. Thomas Gray, Benjamin Kent, Esq., Milatrat Brown, Esq., be a committee to consider the same and Report at the general Town meeting in May next." It is pleasant to find that the appropriation for an assistant at the South Writing School was raised from £40 to £50 at the May meeting. Mr. Holbrook's salary remained, however, at £100, with but a single appropriation of £40 to Mr. Holbrook, and the town treasurer was authorized to allow the several schoolmasters interest on the sums due to them from the dates of their warrants to the time of payment, so amenable were the people of the town to the right of petition, a right which they always jealously guarded.

The personality of this writing-book is somewhat remarkable. The page written by John Fenno is so unique in its sentiment, beautiful in its chirography, and well preserved in the texture of the paper and color of the ink, that we may almost believe the making of such paper and ink to be a lost art which left these shores with the Tories, never to return. John Fenno was for several years the keeper of the granary which stood on the common where Park Street church now stands. He was secretary and aid to General Ward, and his orderly book is preserved by the Historical Society. He went to Philadelphia and established the *United States Gazette*, making a specialty of reporting the debates in congress.

The page bearing the name William Molineaux recalls many interesting events in our history. He was one of that band of patriots who accomplished so much in so short a time that history may well regret his early death. Those who recall the "Gleaner" papers are aware that William Molineaux bought of John Alford, of Charlestown, in 1760, a lot

of land on Beacon street, just east of the path leading to the beacon, and erected thereon what was for those days a spacious mansion, where he died, in 1774. He was an ardent patriot, was one of the men who planned at the Green Dragon the destruction of the tea, and probably one of that same famous party in the disguise of a Mohawk Indian. In 1770 he was one of the committee of seven who went from the old South Meeting House to demand of the governor the removal of the troops; and, from what we know of his temper, he could not have failed to support Samuel Adams in the demand that "*both regiments must go.*" The next day he walked beside the officers in their march to the wharf, that the too zealous patriots might not precipitate a conflict between the people and the troops. It is recorded that "Col. Dalrymple went to Hancock and asked that one gentleman of the committee might accompany the troops in their march through the town. Hancock sent for William Molineaux, who walked alongside the two companies from West Boston to Wheelright's Wharf, where they embarked for the Castle." A glance at the town records from 1760 to 1774 shows that he was put upon many important committees in town meetings; perhaps one of the most noticeable instances of this kind was that of a committee to devise methods of giving relief to the poor by providing employment. It was recommended that rooms be hired, spinning-wheels and wool bought, teachers be employed, and all who desired should be taught spinning; the yarn could be sold to certain persons who proposed to manufacture "Shalloons, Durant's Camblitts, Calimancoes, Duroys and Legatnier." William Molineaux was intrusted with the carrying out of this plan of fostering home industries; he was voted £200 outright, and a loan of £300 more, and the committee say they "are of the Opinion that the Gentleman we hope may be prevailed upon to carry the emportant employment of the Poor of the Town into Execution, has in view the public good, and upon mature deliberation we apprehend there is not any probability of his advantaging himself thereby." There have been attempts all along the line of our history as a town to build up "infant industries." It is only in these latter days that clubs are formed to persuade our people they should foster and protect the foreign manufacturer. William Molineaux died suddenly in 1774, "a martyr by his zeal and ardor for the patriot cause," says a contemporary writer.

On the 12th of August, 1774, William Molineaux, Jr., was attacked by the Welsh soldiers and roughly handled, which brings me to a curious anomaly current in our own literature. Longfellow, apparently, thought the well-known lines on the window-pane at Sudbury were written by "the great Major Molineaux," though they are signed William Molineaux, Jr.;

and Hawthorne reversed the character of Major Molineaux, making him a rabid Tory, when, in fact, he was a most ardent patriot. Both were wrong; the son wrote the lines:

"What do you think?  
Here is good drink.  
Perhaps you may not know it.  
If not in haste,  
Do stop and taste.  
You merry folks will show it."

WILLIAM MOLINEAUX, JR.

BOSTON, 24th June, 1774.

The owner of this copy-book, Joseph Ward, was born in Newton in 1737, and received such education as the common schools afforded. He became the assistant teacher of Abraham Fuller, under whose guidance he extended his studies until he found employment in the neighboring towns of Chelsea, Marblehead, and Portsmouth. In 1767, he was in Boston, the assistant of Abiah Holbrook, at the writing-school. That this man is less familiar to us than Otis, Hancock, and Adams, is probably owing to the fact that he was a writer rather than a talker. His active life as an officer during five years of the Revolution was brilliant, and his whole career, as schoolmaster, writer, soldier, merchant, and citizen, deserves a more careful description and wider record than the present opportunity affords. Let us consider him with reference to a single characteristic of his notable service, as one of the earliest and most insistent advocates of the independence of the colonies. The files of the *Boston Gazette*, *Massachusetts Spy*, and *Essex Gazette* will show many letters addressed to the king, to Governor Hutchinson, to the people, to the parliament, and generally signed "An American." In these Joseph Ward constantly incited the people to demand their rights, to resist encroachments on their liberties, and to look forward to independence of the mother country. In the *Boston Gazette*, August, 1771, he writes under the title of An American to Governor Hutchinson: "Tell the ministry, tell the king, that the plans they are pursuing to tax the colonies and subject them to arbitrary power will end in the destruction of the nation. . . . Tell them they are sapping the foundations of the kingdom—the Americans throughout this vast continent murmur, complain of oppression and are determined that they will not much longer bear these burdens and insults; that the day is fast approaching wherein the union between America and Great Britain, on which the existence of the kingdom depends, will be dissolved."

In December, 1771, he writes in the *Boston Gazette* what is entitled An

Open Letter from an American to the King, saying: "The inhabitants of these, your Majesty's colonies, have from their infancy enjoyed great freedom; have been taught to prize it above everything in life and even above life itself; 'tis liberty, and not names or families, they are in love with. However ardent is their affection for your Majesty, should future experience teach them you were unfriendly to their rights and liberties, all their affection will expire in a moment and the opposite passion animate their minds. Therefore your Majesty can have no dependence on their loyalty unless you pay a sacred regard to all their liberties, for it is an established maxim with the Americans that nothing binds them to the prince but the prince's fidelity to them; that he is made for the people, and not the people for him, and if he departs from his duty they are under no obligation to obey him; that their liberties are to be secured at any rate, if it be even at the expense of his ruin." He writes to the British parliament, through the *Boston Gazette*: "America, in spite of envy and malice and the united efforts of her enemies, will rise superior to all opposition. Her situation, extent of territory and natural advantages for wealth and power give her the most certain prospect of freedom. And nothing can be more absurd and vain than for Great Britain or any other nation to attempt the subjection of America. It is impossible in the nature of things that such a vast people, so advantageously situated for independence, should long submit to impositions."

We also find in the *Essex Gazette* of May 12, 1772: "Be of good courage, my countrymen, be resolute and stand firm, the day of our deliverance draweth near, every rolling year winds up the scene, and brings us nearer an independent state—a few years more will compleat that independency which tyranny has taught us to aspire after." And in the *Boston Gazette*, in September of same year, he writes as follows about the salaries of judges: "The rights of the people are natural and inherent, and no ruler can have any power but what is the free gift of the people whose servant he is. The powers of the crown are the gift of the people, and the crown has no powers but those that are expressed in Laws and Charters." There are many other articles from his pen on matters appertaining to taxation and finance, temperance and morals, running from 1770 to 1785, but we have quoted enough I think to show that this Boston schoolmaster was one of the strong patriots of our country.

Wm. C. Bates.

## EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In surveying the establishment of what we now call constitutional government upon the American continent, two or three cardinal conditions, which existed at the founding of no other nation, must be constantly kept in view. In the first place, here was a virgin continent, which the Almighty Ruler of the universe seems to have withheld from civilized man until he was in a state of enlightenment and progress sufficient for the due appreciation of the noble opportunities for the good of the race which such a virgin continent offered. Secondly, it must ever be remembered that in our history the possession of liberty as a fact preceded the assertion of the principles upon which that liberty was founded. Just as in science, the principle is found by induction from pre-existent facts, so originated our constitutional history. Our ancestors cared little for names. It was the substance, the reality of human liberty that they struggled for; when this had been firmly secured they proceeded to induce from the facts of their experience the true principles of liberty, their work culminating in the present Constitution of the United States, which is at once an harmonious blending of the principles and realities of constitutional liberty into one organic whole, a grand catechism of political principles, encased in noble work of the statesmen's art, standing as an awe-inspiring beacon-light, upon the shores of time—man's best gift to man. The first germs of constitutional government on this continent were planted in a compact drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower* by the Pilgrim fathers in 1620. This document was signed by every man of the party (forty-one in all). After acknowledging themselves as "loyal subjects" of their "dread sovereign King James," it continues: "We do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitution and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." In this document we find all the elements of constitutional republican government, contained in a written compact, and emanating from the people as a fact, but in the name of kingly power. But there is no assertion of the great principle that government proceeds from the people. The *fact*, the *reality* was before them.

They were content with this. It was a great step in the advance of mankind, but they knew it not. This was also the first time in the history of the world that government was ever established by *consent* of the *governed*, but this momentous and vital principle of constitutional government they were totally unconscious of enacting. They came to the new world by *consent* of the king. They regarded him as the source of all political power, but circumstances unlooked for forced them to establish a government by their *own* consent. They were not economic metaphysicians. They were pilgrims seeking freedom.

In 1628 John Endicott and one hundred settlers obtained a charter for the Massachusetts Bay company, and thus the foundations of the commonwealth of Massachusetts were laid. This lasted until 1683, when the English court of chancery declared the Massachusetts Bay company's charter forfeited. But as the pilgrims at Plymouth were not acting under this charter they were not affected by its dissolution. The king sent over a royal governor, who abolished all the charter laws. It looked as if the liberties of Massachusetts were gone forever, when the revolution of 1688 drove the last Stuart king from the throne of England. But the flame of freedom still burned at Plymouth Rock. Encouraged by the sight, the men of Boston in 1689 boldly seized the royal governor, sent him a prisoner back to England, and re-established their former charter government. But it lacked legality—all legal political power must come from the king. So in 1692 they petitioned the king to grant Massachusetts a new charter. This was done, and Plymouth was united with it. Thus ended the famous compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, which had subsisted for seventy-two years, but had taught mankind more of free government in those few years than all the centuries that had gone before. It must be noticed here that, while the *Mayflower* compact acknowledged kingly government, it was a spontaneous act of the people, and existed of itself, without the seal of the king. The pilgrims covenanted only with *one another*, and not with the king. Herein lies the root of the constitutional idea of government from the people, and is in contrast with the charter governments which were covenants between the king and the colonies. The *Mayflower* compact, therefore, must be considered the first political act of the people themselves as such ever done on this continent. We will now follow this idea as it developed in the colonies—namely, governmental acts recognizing that the true power of government originates in the people—for this is the cardinal essence of the present Constitution of the United States, and distinguishes it from all the constitutions of history, ancient or modern.

The next compact of government originating from the people, and that existed without the royal sanction, was the constitution of Connecticut. This constitution was adopted by direct vote of the people in 1639, and recognized no higher human authority than them. It was an advance upon the idea of the *Mayflower* compact, and contained provisions that were afterward adopted into every state constitution and in the Constitution of the United States. This constitution of Connecticut divided the government into three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—all to be filled by persons elected by and deriving their authority from the people. Thus was established a free constitutional republic, and it lasted until 1662—all during the period of Cromwell. But when the Restoration took place, the people of this colony, not realizing the precious government they had, felt uneasy as to its legality, and in 1662 obtained a charter from Charles the Second, and thereby gave up a government deriving its powers from the people for one deriving them from the king. Twenty-three years after the *Mayflower* compact, occurred the next act of government on the part of the people.

In 1643, only twenty-three years after the first settlement of New England, a league possessing some of the elements of a constitution was formed, consisting of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was a league firm and perpetual, offensive and defensive, under the name of the "United Colonies of New England." It had an annual congress of commissioners, delegated by the several colonies, which congress had authority to regulate the general concerns, to levy war, and to make requisitions upon the component colonies for men and money. This confederacy lasted for forty-three years, when it was arbitrarily dissolved in 1686 by James the Second, for the very reason that it was an assertion that political power could come from the people and not from the king. In 1754 there was a congress of commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland assembled at Albany. Though this congress was called at the instance of the crown, for the purpose of defending America against France, the illustrious Franklin, who was one of its delegates, saw an opportunity to accomplish a grander object. Instead of considering merely how to defend the frontiers against France, Franklin drew up a plan of united government for all the colonies, with a general congress, having many of the rights of war and peace, and to levy imports and taxes, and a president-general to be appointed by the crown. Here was first planted that twin idea of liberty—union. This plan was rejected by the king, who was alarmed at its republican princi-

ples. This comprehensive plan of government was the third great act of the people as such. It was not established, but the idea of a union which it contained was like a torch applied to an inflammable mass. Then, in 1765, on the recommendation of Massachusetts, a congress was assembled to consider the stamp act—this was another assertion of political power, independent of and without the authority of the crown. The congress of 1765 was but a preparatory step to the great continental congress of 1774, which laid the foundation of the American republic. This congress, on October 14, 1774, passed the famous "Bill of Rights," containing the substance of the first ten amendments of the present Constitution, and must be considered, so far as its practical provisions are concerned, as the main source of the whole Constitution. This "Bill of Rights," after reciting various unconstitutional acts of the king and parliament, goes on to say: "the good *people* of the several colonies, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings, have severally elected, constituted and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress in the city of Philadelphia, . . . whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, declare that the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America have the following rights: First, that they are entitled to life, liberty and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent." Then follow eight other resolutions, claiming the right of trial by jury, no taxation without representation, and the separation of the legislative and executive powers. Here was still further carried out the idea of the *Mayflower* compact—that the people—"the good people of these colonies"—are the source of political power. The language is bold, explicit, and clear: "The *people* have *never ceded* to any sovereign power a right." Here was a sentence never before seen in any state paper in the history of the world. Hitherto the language and idea were that the king grants rights to the people, but here is the assertion that the *people* have something to cede to the sovereign. Two years after the "Declaration of Rights" came the "Declaration of Independence," destined to become an immortal heritage dedicated to universal freedom. Thomas Jefferson enjoys a double glory. Not only is his name indissolubly linked to the immortality of the "Declaration of Independence" that emanated from his hand, but he alone possesses the fame and renown of being the first American whose more than human ken penetrated beneath the surface of facts and conditions of his country's history, and drew from thence the comprehensive and all-pervading principles of constitutional freedom. He touched the

barren facts of history, and at once a new light shone in the eager eyes of mankind, who had for so many centuries been yearning for the gladdening sight. It was as the star of morning illuminating the ebon portals of political night. For more than a century this light has been burning, year unto year adding to its already resplendent glory. A glance at this great state paper will show what we have endeavored to illustrate by these remarks—that our ancestors, though in possession of the elements and structure of constitutional government, were as yet ignorant of the great underlying principles upon which it was based, and that the “Declaration of Independence” was the first enunciation of these principles. The “Declaration of Rights” of 1774 merely states facts. It begins with a simple “Whereas”—that the king and parliament have done this and done that, and the rights claimed are merely those actually existing under the then laws. But the “Declaration of Independence” starts out in a very different manner. In its very first sentence it speaks of the colonists as “one people”: “When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for *one people* to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another.” In this phrase “one people,” the great Jefferson presented to his countrymen the glorious vision of an American nationality. The next grand thought the Declaration presents to us is a clear announcement that nature herself had imposed her immutable laws upon government and human society as firmly as she had fixed the law of gravitation upon the universe of matter. The people are “to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station which the laws of *nature* and of nature’s God entitle them.” Having given us the vision of a nationality working out its destiny through nature herself, regulated by the divine lawgiver, we are next led up to the “truths”—the principles, which must follow from these conditions. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Here we have the assertion of those two great underlying principles of all free governments—equality of rights and liberty as the natural state of man. But these great rights would be vain unless they can be applied and secured in their full vigor. Since the dawn of creation the lightning had flashed its terrors from the heavens, irresistible and all-powerful. But until Benjamin Franklin snatched it from its empyrean abode and chained it to the service of man, it was a useless power. So with these inalienable rights of the people—unless they are put in some form of practical power, the people cannot enjoy them—they would be simply a soul without a body.

Hence the "Declaration of Independence" next proceeds to indicate the body by which the people's soul may live upon the earth and become an enduring entity. "That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men." Government, then, is the material body through which the spirit of the people may live. But there are different kinds of governments. The people must not only have a body, but a sound body. We must have governments "deriving their just power from the *consent* of the governed." Here in but eighteen lines of a printed page, the penetrating mind of Jefferson has summed up all there is of the philosophy of human history and of human hope. Then, in the last clause, we find that this great act is to be done in the name of the *people*. "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, do in the name and by the authority of the good *people* of these colonies, solemnly declare and publish that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

These principles having been thus matchlessly enunciated in a rhetoric as the truths taught are undying, and the colonies being free independent states, naturally the first thing to be done was to form a government to carry these principles into effect. But, alas! the same congress that passed the "Declaration of Independence," signally failed to frame a government in accordance therewith. On November 15, 1777, but little over one year after the great Declaration was given to the world, the congress proceeded to form a general government for all the states, which, in its nature and structure, was a contradiction of all the great truths in the "Declaration of Independence." This is a singular and remarkable fact, for these articles of confederation were reported to the congress by a committee on the 20th of August, 1776, only a month and a half after the "Declaration of Independence" was passed. But when one looked among the names of the delegates from Virginia who signed these articles, which were a denial of the truths of the Declaration, we do not find the name of Thomas Jefferson. Whether the delegates, in adopting these articles, acted from design or a failure to understand the remarkable doctrines of the "Declaration of Independence," we know not. The "Articles of Confederation" were to be perpetual, and it is so stated in the body of them, and yet in these articles of government intended to be permanent, the name of the people is not even mentioned; but for the mighty name of the people—the very heart of the "Declaration of Independence"—they put the word "States." Mark, then, how the "Articles of Confederation" begin: "We, the undersigned delegates of the *States* affixed to our names, send greeting. Whereas, the Delegates of the United States in Congress

assembled on November 15th, 1777, did agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts," etc., etc. Then the first article says: "The style of this *Confederacy* shall be 'the United States of America.' ART. II. Each *State* retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power and jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled. ART. III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other."

This was to be the national government of the United States, and yet the people were to have no voice in it—not even in its establishment. The great principle of consent was violated. The "Declaration of Independence" was in the name of the people—but this is in the name of the state governments, a number of corporations. Yet the articles contain many of the practical provisions which were later incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. Like many other acts of our history, the principle of free government was not recognized while its form was retained.

The Articles of Confederation lasted until 1789. By this time the framers of the Articles of Confederation had begun to understand the great doctrines of the "Declaration of Independence," and our present Constitution is but a return to the forgotten principles of the Declaration. The first grand object the Constitution of the United States presents to the mind's view is, "We, the people"—we, the people, do ordain and establish this Constitution—thus the great and true source of constitutional government is recognized, the people. Then the last clause brings into force that other great fundamental idea of constitutional government—free consent of the people through conventions elected by the people, and not by the state governments. Thus this great charter of our liberties begins and ends with a recognition of the *people* as the source of all power.

We have now surveyed the growth of the present Constitution of the United States. We have seen that it was no sudden growth—no instantaneous creation. It was the work of many hands, the product of many toiling years that preceded it. It is, indeed, a mighty ship of state riding upon the surging sea of nations, now sinking to its nether depths, anon rising to the foaming crest of its highest wave, laden with the rich argosies of the fathers who built it as well as the dearest hopes of those who now direct it. A stately craft, whose enduring timbers were knitted firmly by the blood of heroes and welded together by the sacrifices of a martyr host from pilgrim to continentalist, it presents a synthetic frame-work, each decade of pre-Revolutionary history contributing its own peculiar portion. It bears a keel given it by one generation, masts by another, and spread-

ing sails by yet a third. Then in the fullness of time—1787—came the state-craft builders, who so deftly and ably put into place the precious materials that lay at their feet. These nation-builders launched the great ship. It lay for a year or more in the broad harbor of the nations, and the eyes of mankind were upon it. Millions of men, thirsty for liberty, were eagerly looking on from near and from far, anxious to learn if the American people were to start the mighty ship Constitution upon the voyage of the ages or scuttle it at its dock. At last the people gave the words, "Set sail!"—when, in that memorable year, 1789, the great craft of the Constitution started in its course upon the vasty deep of history, with George Washington at the helm. Had George Washington not approved and labored for the adoption of the Constitution, it would have been rejected. The people trusted him, and without his true and patriotic aid it could never have been adopted. Not only, therefore, is George Washington the Father of his Country, but he is the adopted father of this miraculous work of man—the Constitution of the United States. We may well repeat the eloquent words of Daniel Webster. "Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities. Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once! . . . and unless we suppose ourselves running into an age of miracles we may not expect its repetition. . . . If disastrous war sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty and state rights, individual security and public prosperity? No, gentlemen, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. . . . Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art, for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of Constitutional American Liberty."

C. Oscar Beasley

## MINOR TOPICS

### THE STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF NATIONS

Few subjects require a more thorough and comprehensive preparation in the various branches of human knowledge than the study of the mental life of nations. Philology, jurisprudence, and ethnography, contribute their share to give a clearer and more complete understanding of the manifestations of the mind of a people.

The subject-matter of a study of this nature is naturally both varied and comprehensive. To establish it is a problem of no mean character. Though the fundamental principles most general in their nature have been applied to other sciences, still the magnitude and diversity of this field of research makes them seem limited to the extent of their application. All problems, too, that arise from this vast subject-matter are varied and multiform in character. They often trespass upon the domain of other sciences, and therefore must be viewed from their respective standpoints, which greatly adds to the complexity of the matter.

The mental life of any nation gives an infinite amount of subject-matter for psychological analysis. For what mental activity presents itself, if we contemplate a nation during any given period of its life. What excitation of feeling, what straining of the will, what variety of thought affect the multitude. These are characteristics of the individual as well as of the popular mind.

A nation, objectively considered, offers a most variegated picture. In every country there are formed a series of groups, which extend down to the family as a unit. These groups, in many instances antagonistic to one another, are variously classed, according to man's vocation, his social and political position. They are like a number of circles, the smaller representing the family, and the rest growing always larger, until they contain the entire nation; the circles are not one without another, they bisect and intersect each other variously. A process of segregation seems to be in a continual state of operation. Factions separate from a group, and gather about another more homogeneous to them. The tie that holds these elements together is the national consciousness, and through this a well-developed popular mind manifests itself.

Every nation, like every individual, has a self-consciousness by which it distinguishes itself from other nations. This peculiarity is the result of a process of development through which a nation becomes a particular nation, the same as an individual becomes a particular individual. The customs, laws, manners, habits, beliefs, form of government, language and climate, all have a bearing upon the development of the self-consciousness of a nation.

An analysis of self-consciousness will disclose that it consists of two essentially

different elements—the conception of self and the conception of one of the collective. It is in the latter that the national consciousness has its seat. The factors that determine the self-consciousness of an individual are not only certain inherent qualities, such as nature, temperament, disposition, and the like, but the relation the individual bears to the collective. This relation is determined by the desires and inclinations of the collective. Thus the national consciousness is not only based upon some inherent qualities, but upon certain objective relations.

A people's mind is founded upon the consciousness of affinity. This must not be construed as an abstract idea, for it has its existence in the very fact that every individual regards himself as one of a number, and they again regard him as one of them. In this mutual exchange a certain definite equality exists, which constitutes the mind of a nation. The ideal of a nation as represented during different historical epochs is a fair example of the stimulus of the popular mind. For a nation has its ideal the same as the individual.

A careful study of the functions of the national mind will show that during given periods there will be a strong tendency to follow the emotional, or lean to the imaginative, while at other periods a forcible expression of the popular will may manifest itself, or a profound meditation upon theological topics will occupy the popular mind.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

FRANKLIN A. BECHER

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## THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL

A HYMN WRITTEN BY MR. J. R. BARNES

*For the Jubilee of April 30, 1889*

A century since our hero great  
His sash and sabre laid aside—  
The call obeyed, as chief of state,  
Our dark affairs till noon to guide.

The great republic, newly born,  
Was then but struggling hard for breath;  
Its foes looked on it as forlorn,  
And friends stood fearful of its death.

But God in love foresaw this hour,  
And had decreed it should not die—  
He sent our chief with faith and power  
To make its glory fill the sky.

So long had rulers worn a crown,  
The gift of conquest, or of birth,  
To merit kingship by renown  
Seemed quite too great a boon for worth.

But He who gives to man his place  
Had one prepared for bright career—  
A star to guide through stormy space  
The millions of a hemisphere.

All thanks to God for Washington—  
Who saved him through long years of strife,  
And when he had his battles won,  
Made him the nation's crown of life.

His great success, as President,  
Gave strength and grandeur to our name,  
Till soon throughout the continent  
And all the world, stood high our fame.

His name and story will secure  
The highest honors evermore,  
And brightly shine, while years endure,  
The glory of historic lore.

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#### A HUNDRED YEARS TO COME

AUTHOR UNKNOWN

[Contributed by Major-General Schuyler Hamilton]

A hundred years shall pass away—  
A century beyond to-day.  
But you, nor I, nor any one  
Now living, shall behold that sun.

Not one! and all these millions gone  
Before the lighting of that dawn!  
These stars shall flash along the skies,  
But not a gleam shall light our eyes.

There shall be armies, thrones, and states,  
With all their unpredicted fates ;  
Yet none, of millions now in power,  
Shall move the tongue or hand, that hour.

The sceptre, banner, sword, and pen,  
Shall fill the hands of other men ;  
And other tyrants' heels shall tread  
Upon the slave's uplifted head.

The white-winged ships shall come and go,  
But manned by those we do not know ;  
The breeze that wafts them o'er the waves  
Shall bend the flowers above our graves.

Along the streets shall then move crowds,  
While these lie silent in their shrouds ;  
The same unending round of cares  
That now are ours, will then be theirs.

The plow shall turn the grassy plain,  
The sickle reap the golden grain ;  
But those that now the valley till  
Shall each lie slumbering 'neath his hill.

Where now we sit in twilight bowers  
With music, pleasure, love, and flowers,  
Shall others call the rising moon  
To hear their vows, forgotten soon.

Like shadows o'er the fields of grass  
This living century shall pass,  
And fading, as a summer eve,  
The earth, to those who follow, leave.

The press and commerce, church and state,  
Must gain from others future fate,  
For you, nor I, nor any one  
Now living, shall behold that sun.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### THREE LETTERS FROM ROGER GRISWOLD TO HIS WIFE

[Roger Griswold, subsequently governor of Connecticut, was ten years a member of congress, 1795-1805, and his family letters from Philadelphia, particularly in the early part of that period, possess all the charm of current gossip. President John Adams offered him the secretaryship of war, which he declined. He was thirty-three years of age at the time of the writing of these letters, and personally one of the handsomest men of his day, with a bright, keen, flashing black eye, elegant manners, finished scholarship, with gifts and graces in conversation that were the delight of his friends. He was the son of Governor Matthew Griswold, and the grandson, through his mother, of Governor Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut. These letters are contributed by one of his great-grandchildren, Mrs. J. Osborne Moss of New York city.—EDITOR.]

#### WASHINGTON BEFORE CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA, December 10, 1795.

*Dear Fanny:* On Tuesday at 12 o'clock the President met the two Houses of Congress in the chamber of the House of Representatives and delivered his speech. The ceremony was interesting, and I observed that the President was considerably agitated upon the occasion. The room where we assembled is convenient as well for the meeting of the two Houses as for its ordinary purpose. The chair of the Speaker stands on the south side of the room and is elevated three steps above the floor; the seats for the members are ranged in four semi-circular rows in front of the Speaker, the first row being about thirty feet distant from the chair. In front of the chair is a passage or aisle leading through the seats directly to the front door, and on each side there are likewise passages leading through the seats for the convenience of passing in and out. All this body of seats is inclosed by a bar, leaving a passage quite around the room by the wall. Upon this occasion two chairs were placed on the right of the Speaker's chair on the floor of the House, and a little in front, for the President and Secretary of the Senate, and two on the left for the Speaker and Clerk of the House. The Senate was seated on the right of the Chair, in those seats which belong to the Representatives; the members of the House of Representatives were seated in the other semi-circular seats belonging to the House; the foreign Ministers were placed in chairs on the floor of the House, on the left of the Speaker's chair, and our own Ministers, viz.: Secretary of the Treasury, War, etc., in chairs on the right. The two Houses and Ministers were all seated when the President came in. All arose upon his entering the House. He advanced through the front door, attended by the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of War, and passing across the area which lies in front of the chair, he ascended the steps and took his seat in the chair of the Speaker.

When he was seated all were seated. After waiting a few moments he arose, the House and spectators rising at the same time, and delivered his speech. When the speech was closed he again resumed his seat, and after sitting a few moments arose and retired in the same manner as he entered. The Senate then retired, and the ceremony was closed.

It is impossible to give any just description of the feelings excited by this ceremony. The many eminent services rendered by the President to his country all arose on the mind—the interest every one took in the proceedings communicated as it were from one to another an enthusiastic respect for the man who excited it—and the real solemnity observed filled every mind with respect and attention. The agitation which he felt discovered the feelings of a parent, and the ambition to excel in the first magistrate of a great nation. You cannot doubt but that I have been highly gratified on the occasion, and shall remember with pleasure the scene to which I have been a witness.

It is quite impossible to conjecture at this early period what course the business of the session will take. Nothing as yet has been done, and there really appears but little to do. I have, however, no doubt but that we shall have noise enough before the winter closes.

I called last evening on Mrs. Pereit, and found her in health and spirits. I really think the lady is better situated than she was when encumbered with an ill-natured father and a stupid husband. From Mrs. Pereit's I went to the circus, and attended the equestrian exhibition of Ricketts and his associates. My paper is filled up, and having nothing more to communicate, I can only add that I remain most affectionately yours,

ROGER GRISWOLD.

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#### A PRESIDENTIAL LEVEE

PHILADELPHIA, December 12, 1795.

*Dear Fanny* : Last evening, agreeably to the fashion of the place, I attended the levee of the Lady of the President. Although a very formal business, it is attended with less ceremony than one would expect. The drawing-room is in the second story, and consists of two chambers, very elegantly furnished. Without any ceremony or introduction we walked up stairs and went into the first chamber, and passing through that without taking notice of any person we walked into the second chamber, and being introduced by Mr. Tracy I made my bow to the lady, and without saying a word turned on my heel and mixed with the company, and was afterward introduced to the President. The rooms were extremely crowded. The ladies were seated on the sides of the room and formed a circle quite around. The gentlemen were standing in the middle of the room, conversing with each other or with the ladies or looking around on the company. No ceremony is observed after

the first introduction and every person feels much at his ease, and leaves the room whenever he pleases without taking leave. You are treated with tea, coffee, cake, lemonade, etc. The rooms on this evening were so much crowded that one could scarcely move from one part to another.

You will very easily conjecture that nothing interesting can take place on these occasions—neither sentiment nor character are developed when ceremony and caution mark everything. Such scenes are fit only to be seen. They cannot be enjoyed. Congress has as yet transacted no business—the week has been spent in forming arrangements and preparations for business.

Having nothing new to declare, you must accept my best wishes and believe me sincerely yours,

R. GRISWOLD.

### DINING WITH WASHINGTON

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1796.

*Dear Fanny:* I wish you a happy New Year. This salutation is frequently uttered without real meaning. In this instance, however, it is something more than a mere sound; it originates from the sincerest wishes that your happiness during the year which is now ushered in may remain unclouded.

It is now the first day of January and the weather remains as pleasant as is usual in the month of May. The air is clear and the ground remains unfrozen and winter appears robbed of half its severity. I know not what may be the appearance in Connecticut, but I presume the weather remains unusually mild. This moderation of our climate may be agreeable to persons of weak and languid constitutions, but to me, I declare it is of all things the most unpleasant. Give me a clear north-wester, with an air sharp and severe, the ground covered with snow, and I can rejoice over the dreary appearance of nature. The nerves become renovated with new vigor, health smiles in our faces and the full flow of animal life elevates us above the rigor of the season.

Nothing very interesting has taken place since I wrote you at the beginning of the week; the House has been employed in examining the case of the two persons who attempted corrupting the members to support their petition for a grant of land at Detroit. The rogues, I believe, are guilty enough; but so much parade is made about the business that it is to be regretted any measures were taken by the Legislature with them.

The delegations from Connecticut and Maryland were this week invited to dine with the President. Less ceremony took place than one would have expected. The President, his lady and Secretary were the only persons at the table except the guests. The dinner, you may be assured, was elegant and the furniture of the table rich. Six servants in livery attended at the table. We had no grace. Mr. Trumbull was placed at one end of the table and the Secretary at the other. Every

man was at home—he ate, drank and said what he pleased, without ceremony. Conversation was unrestrained. We sat down at table at 4 and arose at 6. Each individual left the house when he pleased without saying anything to the Master of the House or anybody else. In short the business is more reasonably conducted than I expected to see it, and I feel more reconciled to the ceremony of eating and drinking with the President than to any other ceremony I have attended.

In my letter of the beginning of this week I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 20th of December. I hope you will find leisure to write by every mail. . . .

Wish Nancy and the children a Happy New Year on my account, and believe me sincerely yours,

R. GRISWOLD.

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LETTER FROM PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT TO GEORGE CLINTON

*Hitherto Unpublished.*

[Contributed by S. Victor Constant.]

Sir :

KINGSTON, July 3, 1777.

Upon the Receipt of your Letter by Express, the Council of Safety proceeded to the immediate Consideration of the Matters submitted by you to our Determination. We think the probability of an Attack at Ticonderoga and a Co-operation of Genl Howe by an attempt on the Posts in the Highlands a subject of the most serious importance.

We have not yet received any Account of an investiture of our Northern Post ; nor can we determine at present whether it will be most advisable to order the several Corps of Militia in the Counties of Dutchess & Ulster which you have not put under marching Orders, to reinforce either the upper or the lower Posts. A Short Time will probably enable us to direct their March. In the meantime that not a moment may be lost ; we have issued Orders to the commanding Officers of those Corps to hold themselves in Readiness with the Militia under their respective Commands, furnished with three Days Provisions to march at a Moments Warning.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

By Order

Pierre Van Cortlandt Pres<sup>dt</sup>.

The Hon<sup>bl</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Geo. Clinton.

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This letter is endorsed—

*On publick Service*

To

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> George Clinton,  
Fort Montgomerie.

## NOTES

**A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC—AN ANTIQUATED BUILDING BURNED**—An old building was destroyed by fire at Sandy Hill, Washington County, New York, Thursday, May 2, 1889, which was justly regarded as a Revolutionary relic and historic structure. In 1775, when parties of Continentals were summoned hurriedly to relieve Fort William Henry at Lake George, ten miles distant, when it was attacked by French and Indians, they were ambuscaded by a band of Mohawk Indians, and were obliged to take refuge in this building and defend themselves. An incessant fire was kept up, but the rifles of the frontiersmen played sad havoc with the enemy. After about one quarter of the savages were killed or wounded, they reluctantly retired from the scene, leaving the Continentals in possession of the structure. About a dozen of the latter were killed or wounded. The dead were buried in front of the old house, while the wounded were taken to the strong works at Fort Edward. The remainder, consisting of about seventy-five men, marched to relieve their comrades at Lake George, where they performed valorous service.

HENRY CLARK

RUTLAND, VT.

**LORD LYNDHURST AND LORD BROUGHAM**—In one of his letters to his wife, John Lothrop Motley describes Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham, both of whom were then well advanced in years. In speaking of a dinner at Lady Stanley's, of Alderley, he says: "My place at table was between Lady Stanley and the pretty Countess of Airlie, her daugh-

ter; on her right sat Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and at the other end of the table, on each side of Lord Stanley, were Brougham and Lyndhurst. When sitting down the latter appears younger than Brougham, although really six years older (he was eighty-six last week); his voice is silvery, and his manner very suave and gentle. The company was too large for general conversation, but every now and then we at our end paused to listen to Brougham and Lyndhurst chaffing each other across the table. Lyndhurst said: 'Brougham, you disgraced the woollack by appearing there with those plaid trousers, and with your peer's robe on one occasion put on over your chancellor's gown.' 'The devil!' said Brougham. 'You know that to be a calumny; I never wore the plaid trousers.' 'Well,' said Lyndhurst, 'he confesses the two gowns. Now the present lord chancellor never appears except in small-clothes and silk stockings.' Upon which Lady Stanley observed that the ladies in the gallery all admired Lord Chelmsford for his handsome leg. 'A virtue that was never seen in you, Brougham,' said Lyndhurst. All dinner-time Lord Lyndhurst's servant, who came with him, stood behind him, allowing him to eat only the dishes which he selected for him, and seeming very much like the doctor who stood behind Sancho Panza, when governor of Baratania, and perpetually waved away the dishes which that functionary was inclined to devour."

—*Correspondence of Motley.*

**CLIMATE**—In his new work on American resorts, Bushrod W. James says:

"Numerous attempts have been made to define the term *climate* satisfactorily, but this is a somewhat difficult undertaking. Walsh defines it as 'the sum total of the extrinsic physical influences amid which we breathe.' Bell as, 'the sum of the influences exerted upon the atmosphere by temperature, pressure, soil, proximity to the sea, lakes, rivers, plains, forests, mountains, light, ozone, electrical conditions, and doubtless some other conditions of which we have no knowledge.' De Chaumont as, 'one of the most complex influences in existence. It is made up of questions of temperature, humidity, pressure, velocity, and direction of the wind, nature of the soil, conformation of the surface, presence or absence and kind of vegetation, proximity to the sea or great continents, electrical influences, presence or absence of malaria, and probably scores of other things of an obscure or unknown char-

acter. Its variation is practically infinite, and the integration of its many factors well nigh impossible.' "

A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION—The town of York, Maine, claims the honor of furnishing nearly the first and also the last surviving soldier of the Revolution. The last-named was William Hutchins, who was born in York, October 6, 1764, and died in Penobscot, May 2, 1866. At the close of the war he returned to Penobscot, which had been his home since four years of age, and in 1865 he joined in a Fourth of July celebration at Bangor, a revenue-cutter having been detached for his conveyance to and from that city; and as he passed by the Penobscot River the guns of Fort Knox fired a salute of welcome, an honor said never before to have been given to any person in Maine.

H. C.

## QUERIES

JOHN AND GEORGE CLARKE—It appears by the will of George Clarke, sen., of Milford, that he was a brother of "John Clarke, Esq.," of Hartford, Saybrook, and Milford, one of the patentees of Connecticut. George Clarke mentions a "brother Daniell." Hon. Daniel Clarke, of Windsor, Conn., came there in 1639, the year that George Clarke appeared in Milford. There are several other coincidences, especially in the names of their children, which suggest the idea that Hon. Daniel, also a patentee, was another brother of John and George. Could Henry Clarke, who appears in

Windsor in 1640 (also a patentee), have been of the same family? He survived his wife and left no children. He gave his property to his relatives and to Harvard college and the school at Hadley, to which place he had removed. Who were the relatives? Where can his will be found? Does Hon. Daniel mention other relatives than his own children in his will? Can any facts or inferences be given to prove or disprove a relationship between John and George Clarke, of Milford, and Henry and Daniel Clarke, of Windsor? The facts are needed for a forthcoming large genealogical work in

which notes on some of the early Clarkes of Connecticut will be given. Kindly address

Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

coinage of a dime with the portrait of Martha Washington on same?

G. MUNSON  
ST. LOUIS, MO.

FOUR QUERIES—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers tell me what authors and books are the best authority on colonial life and character?

(2) Are any of John Fisk's lectures in print? If so, who is the publisher?

(3) In what estimation does the public of to-day hold the colonial period and its principal actors?

(4) Did the mint ever authorize the

#### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—

Having in former years been a resident of Pennsylvania, I heard much from old inhabitants about the Hannastown Declaration of Independence. Will you kindly tell us, through the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, whether said declaration is supported by testimony? Or perhaps some correspondent who is informed will write you concerning it for the magazine.

C. S. DONALDSON  
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

#### REPLIES

TELLING THE BEES [xxi. 434]—Some years ago, in one of the interior towns of Maine, I was chatting with a man in a garden in which were a number of bee-hives. Asking him what luck he had had in bee-keeping, he answered: "Not much lately; we had a death in the family last year, and didn't tell the bees." He then went on to say that, when a member of the family died, it was necessary "to visit the hives, and rap upon each three times, and say: 'So and so is dead.' When this is done, the bees will not leave."

I remember, also, to have heard that it is the custom, for the same reason, to deck the hives in mourning for a death.

A. N. LEWIS  
*Secretary of Westport Historical Society*  
WESTPORT, CONN.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON [xxi. 366]—"Twenty-three years," in the four-

teenth line from bottom of page, should read *thirteen* years. Livingston became the governor of New Jersey in 1776, and the error of statement was a mere slip of the pen.

EDITOR.

THE FIRST BARONET IN THE COLONIES [xxi. 425]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Your correspondent, Mr. Nathan M. Hawkes, in his very interesting article regarding Sir William Pepperell, is in error when he states that "the fish-merchant, William Pepperell, was the first and only inhabitant of the colonies so honored by the crown," *i. e.*, made a knight. On the contrary, General William Johnson, on account of his victory over Baron Dieskau at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was created a baronet of Great Britain by his sovereign, George III. Kindly insert this and oblige,

WM. L. STONE  
JERSEY CITY, N. J.

TELLING THE BEES [xxi. 434]—This superstition, or curious observance, is notifying the bees of the death in a family, and is found in many parts of Europe, being kept up by the peasantry in England, Germany, Switzerland, and other places. It consists in telling the bees who is dead and putting a bit of crape on the hives, believing ill luck or death in the family will follow those who omit to "tell the bees." The country folk won't buy a hive soon after a death in the family who last owned them, fearing some serious calamity to follow, unless the hives were told and put in mourning at the time of the death.

In many places in Nottinghamshire, when the master of a family dies, the old nurse goes to the hive of bees, knocks, and says :

" The master's dead, but don't you go ;  
Your mistress will be a good mistress to you."

A bit of black crape is then pinned on the hive. It is supposed that but for this precaution the bees would all desert the place. A correspondent at Pershore says : " While conversing with a farmer's wife in this neighborhood, I was gravely informed that it was certainly true that, unless the bees were 'told' when anybody died in the house, something would happen either to bees or honey before long. She considered it a great want of foresight not to go from the house, in which the 'departed one' had breathed his or her last, to the hive without delay, and 'tell the bees' what had happened."

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The meaning of the custom is lost, at least to those who now cling to its observance, like many others we cling to, not knowing why.

Jubernatis, in his zoölogical mythology, says the Aryans held the bee to be the only animal, save man, having an immortal soul—an heir of heaven, like man—and treated the bees as fellow-heirs of the world to come, holding that at times the spirits of departed friends returned to the earth as bees. Virgil, in the Georgics, holds similar views. It seems reasonable to suppose that this Aryan myth made its way into Europe in the long past, and the "telling the bees" has survived its long-forgotten origin.

W. KITE

GERMANTOWN, PA.

WHITTIER'S LINES [xxi. 434]—Whittier's beautiful poem chronicles the ceremony of "telling the bees" of a death in the family, as he witnessed it in the rural districts of early New England, as follows :

" Before them under the garden wall,  
Forward and back,  
Went drearily singing the chore-girl small,  
Draping each hive with a shred of black.  
Trembling, I listened ; the summer sun  
Had the chill of snow,  
For I knew she was telling the bees of one  
Gone on the journey we all must go.  
And the song she was singing, ever since  
In my ear sounds on :  
' Stay at home, pretty bees, fly not hence,  
Mistress Mary is dead and gone ! ' "

EDITOR.

## SOCIETIES

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—** At the regular meeting of the New York Historical society, held at its rooms on the evening of May 7, the Hon. John A. King presiding, John Austin Stevens read a valuable and interesting paper on "The Merchants of New York in 1789." The paper was received with applause by the large and cultivated audience. The death of President Barnard, of Columbia college, who had long been a member of the society, was formally announced, the president speaking of the great loss the society had suffered thereby.

Mr. Charles Isham, the librarian, reported that the following memorials of Major General Horatio Gates had been presented to the society by Mr. Frederic Gallatin: 1. The gold medal voted by congress to General Gates, in recognition of the victory at Saratoga, 1777. 2. The sword worn by General Gates during the war of the Revolution. 3. The wedding-ring of General Gates. 4. Gold sleeve-buttons worn by General Gates. 5. Degree of Doctor Civilis, conferred June 18, 1779, by Harvard college on General Gates; and, 6. General Gates's certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, signed by Washington, December 10, 1785. The librarian further reported that the following memorials of General Ebenezer Stevens had been presented through Mr. Frederic Gallatin to the society, in behalf of the widow of the late John Rhinelanders Stevens: 1. Uniform dress coat, with epaulets, worn by Major General Stevens. 2. Certificate of membership in the So-

ciety of the Cincinnati of Lieutenant Colonel Stevens, signed by Washington, December 10, 1785; with gold badge of the order. 3. Horatio Gates Stevens's certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, September 6, 1824.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—** On the evening of April 9, 1889, a meeting of this society was held in honor of its late president, Professor William Gammell. The meeting was called to order by its second vice-president, Horatio Rogers, who paid a touching tribute to the character and services of the deceased, saying: "He has presided over the deliberations of this society so long, with such abounding dignity and courtesy; his flow of periods was so stately and the affluence of his information upon Rhode Island affairs was so great that it seems well-nigh impossible to fill the place that he has left vacant. So recently has he been among us that the veil that separates us seems so thin that we almost expect to see his familiar form enter yonder doors and advance to this desk to preside over us once more. We all know his deep interest in whatever pertained to this society. Only one week ago we assembled here to consider a matter in which he took the deepest interest, namely, measures for enlarging the accommodations for this society."

Rev. Samuel L. Caldwell, D.D., introduced the following minute: "The society performs a painful duty in placing upon record the decease of its president, Professor William Gammell, LL.D., which occurred on the 3d inst. He has

been a member of the society since July 19, 1844, and its president for the last seven years. Besides the official address with which he has closed each of these years, he has read thirteen papers at different meetings, probably a larger contribution than any single member has ever made.

The study of history, the teaching of history, had occupied the ripest and most vigorous period of his academic life. He was more than a mere professor of history. He had the historic temper, the historic imagination, the constructive power which enabled him to enter into and reproduce the events and the periods which interested him. He had facility in digesting materials, which in history are often rather indigestible, and working them into clear and continuous narrative. He rose readily from facts to principles, and generalized within the safe limits of induction, without wandering into regions of speculation or vagary. His style was lucid, polished, elevated, correct without coldness, and elegant without ostentation. The *Life of Roger Williams* and the *Life of Samuel Ward*, in Mr. Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, and the *History of American Baptist Missions*, are the more considerable works of his pen. The minor writings which came from his busy hand would probably make other volumes of equal or larger amount. The society has occasion to remember not only his literary contributions and his historical work, but also the dignity and courtesy with which he has presided in its meetings, the interest he has taken in whatever concerned its usefulness and its progress, but especially the successful attempt he

made to secure a large subscription for the enlargement of its building, which was almost the last labor of his life.

Beyond all this, it takes pleasure and a certain pride in remembering the course of his long and honorable life; all he was as a citizen, a scholar, a teacher, a man, a Christian; his fidelity in all trusts, his devotion to the highest interests, the good name he has left."

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THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the 16th of April, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and the librarian showed numerous additions to the library, and that a special catalogue of history and biography has been completed, and these two departments arranged accordingly. After the election of new members, General Isaac H. Elliott, of Princeton, Illinois, was introduced, and read a paper upon the subject of "The Patriotism of Illinois." It abounded in instructive facts and figures, and in interesting historical reminiscences, and was highly appreciated by the large audience.

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THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its last meeting for the season, Friday evening, May 3, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. Hon. Henry E. Rochester presented a list of the inventions and improvements he had seen adopted in his day, with reminiscences of the old order of things. Among the contributions to the society was an old-time foot-stove, which inspired considerable story-telling. Jane Marsh Parker then read an interesting paper called "Rochester in Ancient History."

## HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In Paris, France, one of the interesting features of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's inauguration, was the reading of President Harrison's proclamation, appointing the day as one of prayer and thanksgiving. The audience that had assembled in the American church in the Rue de Berri was very large, although the weather was unfavorable. Rev. Edward G. Thurber, D.D., delivered a brief but touching address on the life and character of the Father of his Country, the immense development of the great republic, and the blessings of its Constitution. He then very happily introduced Hon. Robert M. McLane, who remarked that "the President's proclamation, which had just been read, was in the nature of a thanksgiving proclamation, and certainly we may consider Washington as a special blessing of an almighty and loving Providence. He seemed specially endowed for the great work of his life, which was to secure the liberty and happiness of his countrymen! He was a wonderful and most majestic man—so equal and measured in all his ways, that his greatness and genius were to be seen and felt only in its general results. From his earliest manhood, when he led the British army to safety and refuge through the wild forests of Virginia, to his mature years, when the American colonies sought in him a commander-in-chief to maintain their independence and establish their constitutional form of government, he was the same immortal hero—the synonym of courage and justice, inspired with love for Almighty God and his fellow-man."

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Mr. McLane spoke without notes, but with great eloquence and feeling. He said: "Washington stands alone in our history as superior to and independent of all parties, the chief leaders of all being at his council-board, and there devoting their great talents to the general welfare and common defense of the country. As I thus think of him, I see not only the scriptural text upon the wall, but I behold that starry banner which decorates your chancel, and I remember that the thirteen stars, which were there when Washington was inaugurated, now number thirty-eight, and that the population which the thirteen represented—hardly four millions—is now near sixty millions! In a very short period of time these numbers will be duplicated, and I pray the great Almighty Ruler of the world to secure to us, in this coming future, the example of the great and good man who secured to us our constitutional liberty and national life!"

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We are told by an English writer that Mr. Gladstone enjoys his morning in taking long street walks. "He is to be met almost everywhere—now in the Strand, then in Regent street, and the other day I saw him examining curiously the pretty mirrors and knickknacks in Sprigg's windows in furniture-lined Tottenham Court road. Anon he is observed making his way to Hampstead, regardless of April showers, and violating the injunctions of physicians. When the G. O. M. can't hack away at trees he goes in for pedestrianism, and gets over the ground quite wonderfully for a man of his advanced age. Being invited recently to a certain charity he replied on a post-card that innumer-

able applications of the kind were received by him, and that he had to confine his donations to local needs. The post-card was duly put up at auction, fetching two guineas, and the G. O. M. appeared on the list of subscribers as a donor to that amount !"

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President Harrison's address at the sub-treasury building, on the 30th of April, was very brief. He said :

" Official duty of a very exacting character has made it quite impossible that I should deliver an address on this occasion. Foreseeing this, I early notified your committee that the programme must not contain any address by me. The selection of Mr. Depew as the orator of this occasion makes further speech not only difficult, but superfluous. He has met the demand of this great occasion on its own high level. (Applause.) He has brought before us the incidents and the lessons of the first inauguration of Washington. We seem to have been a part of that admiring and almost adoring throng that filled these streets one hundred years ago. We have come into the serious but always inspiring presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson : that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty. Self-seeking has no public observance or anniversary. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperiled fellow-men, has fame ; he who lands the cargo has only wages. Washington seemed to come to the discharge of the duties of his high office impressed with a great sense of his unfamiliarity with these new calls upon him, modestly doubtful of his own ability, but trusting implicitly in the sustaining helpfulness and grace of that God who rules the world, presides in the councils of nations, and is able to supply every human defect.

We have made marvelous progress in material things, but the stately and enduring shaft that we have erected at the national capital symbolizes the fact that Washington is still the first American citizen."

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The words of Dr. Storrs, in a sermon preached on the 28th of April, are worthy of many readings : " We front at once the unquestionable fact, full of significance, that the Gospel of Christ has far more power in this country now than it had one hundred years ago ; not merely more, absolutely, because the number of churches and Christian congregations is larger and the number of communicants is vastly increased, but more proportionately to the growth of the nation in population and wealth, in general intelligence, and in power in the world. For where there was one communicant to perhaps thirteen or fourteen of the population then, there is now, as you know, one communicant to every five or six of the entire population. And whereas there were less than 260,000, I think, of communicants at that time, there are now between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000 in the country."

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This magazine makes no attempt to chronicle, in its current issue, the events and incidents which have rendered the months of April and May, 1889, memorable in all history. But it expects to furnish its readers, in its July number, a carefully prepared and graphic sketch of the Washington celebration as a whole, with selections from the most truthful and artistic of several hundred photographic views of the various proceedings of the three days' jubilee in New York city, made by experts in the art—an illustrated chapter that will not only be of unique present interest, but of popular and permanent value.

## BOOK NOTICES

**THE LAW OF MUNICIPAL BONDS**, including a digest of statutory laws relating to their issue; to which is added a digest of the statutory laws governing the investment of corporate and trust funds by savings banks, insurance companies, guardians, executors, and other corporations and trustees. By J. A. BURHANS. 8vo, pp. 342. Chicago and New York: S. A. Kean & Co. 1889.

Several years ago the enterprising bankers S. A. Kean & Co. published a "Digest of Laws," which was very widely commended at the time, and proved itself of great utility. This work has now been revised, enlarged, and made much more complete and valuable. It seems to embody the experience of five and twenty years, its projectors having been for that period, and much longer even, bankers and dealers in investment securities. The first six chapters of the volume contain a synopsis of the more important legal principles governing the law of municipal bonds, with a review of the latest decisions of the highest courts. The following sixteen chapters treat of the digest of the bond laws of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, California, and Dakota. The twenty-third chapter relates to "Investments by Savings Banks" in the different states, and the twenty-fourth chapter gives important information concerning "Investments by Insurance Companies." The closing chapter treats of investments by guardians, executors, and trust companies, with suggestions as to the issue of bonds by municipalities. In Ohio, for instance, it is made the duty of guardians to invest the money of their wards within a reasonable time after the same is received, and the manner thereof is specified by law. The book abounds in timely instruction, and as a hand-book for all who are interested in the public securities, or concerned in handling property or investments of any character, it cannot fail to reveal its great worth. To states, counties, cities, and school districts it will particularly commend itself. It contains an admirable general index. S. A. Kean & Co. have also had prepared especially for them a book of bond values and interest tables. The bond tables will be useful to those who desire to know what a bond at any price will pay, running a definite length of time, at a given rate of interest per annum. The interest tables are entirely new and contain a short method of computing interest.

**FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.** Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical. **SKETCHES OF THE BENCH AND BAR OF Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.** By GEORGE B. KULP. In three volumes. Vol. II, 8vo. pp. 531. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Price, \$7.50 per volume.

It is now some four years since the first volume of this interesting work appeared, and we then called attention in these pages to the fact that the Wyoming Valley was principally settled by New-Englanders—that some of the best families in the country contributed toward laying the foundation of a Christian and enlightened community in that region. The biographical studies of Mr. Kulp, admirably conceived and ably executed, constitute the main portion of this second volume; and the work as a whole continues to bear evidence of the most conscientious and painstaking research. Each biography embraces more or less general history, as well as specific and valuable genealogy. The first volume contained a graphic sketch of Governor Henry M. Hoyt, a descendant of Simon Hoyt, the first of the name in this country. In the volume before us we have an interesting account of the ancestry of Edward Everett Hoyt, the nephew of the governor, who now is in the beginning of his career, so to speak, being only thirty years of age, a lawyer, and an earnest student. Mr. Kulp has very properly taken occasion in this chapter, which covers twenty-four pages, to write of Daniel Hoyt, who came to this valley in 1795 from Danbury, Connecticut, and of his children and some of the family connected by marriage, giving several thrilling sketches of their early adventurous pioneer life. Among the many biographies in the work, those of Cecil Reynolds Banks, Edward Baker Sturges, Thomas Lansford Foster, Henry Clay Adams, George Hollenback Butler, William Lafayette Raeder, Samuel Britton Price, Henry Amzi Fuller, and George Henry Ruggles Plumb, may be particularized as containing material of special consequence to the historical student. In the sketch of Judge Lewis Jones, we are given a brief glimpse of the Benedict family, his mother having been a descendant of Deacon Benedict, of Norwalk, Connecticut, and on the same family tree as Chancellor Benedict, of New York.

**A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE.** For the use of students, general readers, and collectors of books. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D. Third edition, re-

vised and enlarged. 12mo, pp. 720. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1889.

The author in the original preparation of this work, as well as in its recent revision with additions, has aimed to accomplish two distinct purposes—to furnish information as to the most desirable historical books for the reader and student, and to suggest the proper methods and order of using the materials so indicated. He does not attempt an exhaustive bibliography of historic literature, which accounts for the omission of some excellent and valuable works, but selects from the vast abundance a considerable number of what he esteems the best books, on the themes mentioned, and describes them in such a way that the reader may know something of their peculiarities before perusal. In his introductory chapter he says: "There are unmistakable indications that popular opinion in various parts of the world is drifting more and more to the belief that wisdom, for the guidance of the present and the future, is in some way gained or aided by a careful study of the past. These indications show themselves in various ways. It is not many years since even the largest and most honored of our universities began seriously to teach history in a systematic manner. Where but a few years ago a single tired instructor taught history only as a work of charity, we now see a number of teachers zealously devoting their entire energies to the study and teaching of history alone. Nor is this new interest in the study of history confined to the universities. Every state, almost every county, now thinks it must have its historical society. . . . Whichever way we turn, we see the study of history and the use of historical methods among the striking and growing characteristics of present intellectual activity. This seems a rational tendency, and a wholesome one. It is not necessary or reasonable to claim for the study of history a superiority over all other studies. All branches of learning must stand upon a footing of democratic equality. . . . But the study of history is more distinctively the study of humanity than is any other branch of learning. Its influence is like the influence of travel. Not only is the study of history the most human of all studies, but it is also one of the most easily accessible to all men. There is scarcely a corner of the world where historical studies may not be carried on with fruitful results—with the result of quickening the intelligence, improving the judgment, enlarging the sympathies, and broadening the charities of life."

**ANCESTRY OF THE CHILDREN OF JAMES WILLIAM WHITE, M.D.** With accounts of the families of White, Newby, Rose, Cranmer, Stout, Smith, Stockton, Leeds,

Fisher, Gardiner, Mathews, Elton, Revell, Stacey, Tonkin, McLorinan, Dowse, Jewett, Hunt, Redding, Isbell, and Griswold. Compiled by WILLIAM FRANCIS CREGAR. 8vo, pp. 194. Philadelphia. 1888.

Seven years have been spent in the researches which have resulted in the handsome volume before us. The author during his investigations visited Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, and made two voyages to England. The work represents an almost endless amount of trouble and expense, and cannot fail meeting with a cordial welcome by every family whose genealogy appears between its covers. Among the most notable of its chapters, covering some thirty pages, is that entitled "Descendants of Richard and Abigail Stockton," dating back to 1665, when the Richard Stockton referred to was a freeholder in the town of Flushing, Long Island; he afterward removed to New Jersey. His son Richard resided in New Jersey, and in 1696 acquired five thousand five hundred acres of land, of which the town of Princeton is now the centre. This Richard's fifth son, John, was the father of Richard Stockton, the signer; also of Hannah, the wife of Hon. Elias Boudinot; of Abigail, the wife of Captain Pintard; and of Susanna, who married Louis Pintard. Several exceptionally interesting pages are given to the Griswolds, the Gardiners, the Stouts, the Hunts, the Cranmers, and other families connected with the Whites—the subject of the volume.

**MEMORIALS OF OLD VIRGINIA CLERKS.** Arranged alphabetically by counties, with a complete Index of Names, and dates of service from 1634 to the present time. Compiled by F. JOHNSTON. 12mo, pp. 405. Lynchburg, Virginia. Printed by J. P. Bell Company. 1888. Handsomely bound. Price, \$1.75.

In this volume are the names and dates of service of more than *eight hundred* clerks who have held office in the counties of Virginia. It is a unique collection, and with its memorial sketches and incidents forms an entertaining and valuable contribution to the history of the state. Some of these clerks were remarkable for their skill, intelligence, and usefulness. The majority of them were men of education. John Nicholas, the second clerk of Albemarle county, held the office for a period of *sixty-six* years. James Keith, of Frederick county, held his office *sixty-two* years, and a dozen or more are introduced to the reader who held the office over half a century. James Steptoe and his descendants were successive clerks for more than one hundred years, as were the Chews of Fredericksburg, the

Millers of Goochland, the Wallers of Spottsylvania, the Pollards of Hanover county, and several others. Rolfe Eldridge, of Buckingham county, clerk of both courts under Judges William Daniel, Sr., Daniel A. Wilson, Sr., and William Leigh, was a descendant of Pocahontas. He prepared all the most important entries himself. Major John Wise, of Accomack, was the father of Governor Henry A. Wise. James Steptoe, for fifty-four years the clerk of Bedford county, was the college-mate and life-long friend of Thomas Jefferson, and was immortalized by William Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, as the clerk of the District Court at New London, before which Henry made his famous speech in the *John Hook* case. The book is full of interest from cover to cover. The date of the formation of each county in the state is given, with the name of the county or counties from which it was taken. And the names of counties being given in alphabetical order, the book is easy of reference concerning any county.

**HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATION** of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by HAMPTON L. CARSON. In two volumes. With illustrations. Quarto, pp. 478, 516. Philadelphia, 1889: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

These two superb memorial volumes, prepared by the Constitutional Centennial Commission of Philadelphia, are in themselves a durable monument, erected in honor of the great demonstration in that historic city on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887. The first volume contains the history of the formation of the Constitution, biographies and portraits of the members of the convention, an analytical sketch of the Constitution and its various amendments, and an account of the origin and movements of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, through which the celebration was projected. The second volume is devoted to an elaborate description of the celebration itself, including the ceremonies in Independence Square, the civic and industrial procession, the military parade, the breakfast to the Supreme Court of the United States by the bar of Philadelphia, and the banquet given by the learned societies of Philadelphia to the distinguished guests. The work also contains an account of a dinner given by citizens of Philadelphia to Hon. John A. Kasson, President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, as an expression of hearty appreciation of his patriotic and valuable services, and to congratulate him upon the success of the undertaking. Hon. Charles Emory

Smith, who presided at this dinner, with Mr. Kasson on his right hand, said in his brilliant opening speech: "Walt Whitman begins one of his poems with these words, 'I sing myself.' Gentlemen, after the glories of our two great centennials, I think we of Philadelphia may be pardoned if we sing ourselves and chant our own works. Possibly we must add, with the late lamented Artemus Ward, 'we are saddest when we sing—and so are those who hear us,' especially if they live in New York or Boston. But, all the same, when New York undertakes to celebrate the inauguration of George Washington, whom we kindly loaned to Wall Street, as we do some other things, for that purpose, and when Boston attempts again to celebrate Bunker's Hill, if they will only come to us we will take great pleasure in showing them how."

The work is fully and well illustrated, and contains a good index.

**CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN.** A sketch. By J. L. M. CURRY, LL.D., late minister of the United States in Spain. 12mo, pp. 222. New York, 1889: Harper & Brothers.

Those of our readers who are familiar with the brilliant and instructive papers of Mr. Curry which have appeared from time to time in this magazine, notably "The Acquisition of Florida," and "A Chapter in the History of Spain in Relation to American Affairs," will warmly welcome the little volume before us. It is a study of Spain, her manners, politics, institutions, and people, by one who has had the best possible opportunity for making researches during his official residence in Madrid. The object of the book is clearly to help those who are seeking information in the science of government, and it is a valuable contribution to historic literature. It is an account of human progress with the favoring or hindering motives which spring from the nobler and the meaner nature of man. The author says: "Such a constitutional government is no sudden creation nor easy achievement. It costs experiments, failures, sacrifices, revolutions, wars. The people fail to realize how reluctantly privilege relaxes its grasp, or traditional wrongs and usurpations yield to the demands for liberty, equality, and fraternity. In Spain the battle for constitutional government has been waged for eighty years in the face of the most formidable odds and the most persistent and virulent antagonism. What Spain has done in civil polity in this century is valuable in itself, and relatively as showing development in government and throwing light on political science."

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